

PALESTINE ESSAYS No. 11

VERDICT IN ABSENTIA

By
KHALID KISHTAINY



P. L. O. RESEARCH CENTER

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A Study Of The Palestine Case
As Represented To The Western World

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K. Kishtainy

"I know they call a donkey a horse when they want to sell it, and a horse a donkey when they want to buy it. But is that the whole story?...

The evidence of your own eyes is a very seductive thing. Sooner or later everybody must succumb to it."

(Bertolt Brecht)
Galileo

INTRODUCTION

Following the New York Times revelations after the fiasco of the Cuba invasion, President Kennedy was reported to have blamed the Editor for failing to release the information, withheld by the newspaper in deference to the "national interests," well before the adventure. The lesson is almost unbelievable; the most brilliant President of the most powerful and endowed state, with its fleets of spy ships and spy planes, its satellites keeping watchful eyes over everybody's roof, and millions of its dollars spent on agents and intelligence networks, should find it impossible to know what the position of the small people of Cuba, a short distance from the American coast, was without the simple aid of the press.

The more sophisticated the means of communications which science and progress put in the hands of the rulers the further they seem to drift from the actual state of things and the true feelings of the people. It is those clever means of communications which seem to plague the ruler and blur his sight. In the old days, countries used to be ruled by a local potentate or by a semi-independent governor who could judge things on the spot and administer the territory accordingly. The availability of the wireless, *inter alia*, gave those in Whitehall and the White House the belief that they could judge what went on in Palestine or Vietnam and what was best for these places. The climax of this presumptuous attitude was reached in 1947, when politicians who had not the slightest knowledge of the Middle East sat and partitioned a country with which they had not even a direct postal service.

In the dictatorships, the ruler arrogates for himself the right to wisdom by relying on the intelligence reports submitted by the

police and his private informers. In the democracies, the press adds another source of "wisdom." In either case, the rulers think that what they have in front of them is infallible, simply because the intelligence was delivered through accurate, infallible machines with pictures, films and recordings. The naked eye of the ancient ruler is replaced by elaborate optical tubes focussed and adjusted for him by the mechanic with one hand stretched out for a tip.

By relying on their own personal human experience, intuition and common sense, Nebuchadnezzar and Titus captured Jerusalem with a far more objective view. They had no illusion that they were liberating Judea or that the people loved their rule; nor did they claim that the expelled inhabitants had left out of their own free will and at the kind invitation of their neighbours. Had a Jew waved a palm leaf of welcome to Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian conquerer would have hanged him for his insolence. Yet, the *Jewish Chronicle* published a photo of an Arab polishing the boots of an Israeli soldier as a sign of love and understanding. For thirty years British politicians thought that they had liberated Palestine for the Arabs, that they were loved by them, that the Balfour Declaration was all right for the Palestinians, that inflicting one people on another did not go against the grain of human nature and so on. It is incredible to notice that the songs and stories of the Crusader troubadors had depicted a truer picture of how things stood in the Holy Land nine centuries ago than the picture projected over the television screens in our own era.

Since G.K. Chesterton said that the twentieth century invented the microphone but did not know what to say in it, the problem of the communication of information has become an even more vexing question involving a great deal of research and political thinking. It is literally a question of life and death to millions of people, or rather the entire human race. A hot line was layed across seas and mountains to prevent the catastrophe by insuring a fool-proof means of communication between the rulers. No hot lines are considered for fool-proof contact with the peoples. The obvious means for such a

hot line is the press, but an issue like that of Palestine reveals how vulnerable are the media of press, radio and publishing under the existing system of vested interests and mercantile values. Monstrous errors have been committed throughout our contemporary history as a result of deliberate misinformation or deliberate silence, and the policies vis-à-vis the Middle East are examples of such errors in which everybody has had a share.

The availability of facts, through greater freedom of expression, readier means of communication and, perhaps, more objective examination, has been the single theme which has permeated my private and public life, chased me from one place to another and disenchanted me with all political organizations. In the course of my quest, I have found more tolerance, permissiveness and freedom of expression in London than anywhere else. I have seen people espousing the cause of demolishing Buckingham Palace, taking drugs in public lavatories, stripping in concert halls and even establishing serious socialism without any molestation. They can do practically anything, stand during the Lord's prayer, sit during the National Anthem and sleep in the House of Commons, and make more money and more friends in the process, so long as they do not take sides against Israel. This may seem a flight of imagination, but I have been involved in many radical causes and admit with all honesty that the Palestine case has been to me the most difficult case to put across or even talk about. It has become a demonstration of bad manners to refer to it in society. The present book is no more than an expression of years of a frustrated "freedom of expression."

One of the most moving places for a democrat is Speakers Corner in Hyde Park. I frequented the place on numerous Sundays and heard a lot of arguing, heckling and swearing, but not until an Arab started to talk of Palestine did I see actual resort to violence. In June 1969, a Lebanese speaker was attacked and physically pulled down from his platform by a Zionist.¹ The Jewish nationalists have

(1) The *Jewish Chronicle* (27 June 1969) reported that the Zionist was bound by the police, after his arrest, to keep out of the Speakers Corner.

proved time and time again that they have no scruples in breaking any expected standard, any rule of the game, any time honoured convention, in their ruthless pursuit of their one single goal. A large section of them are self-confessed Fascists and most of them are the product of the collective neurosis of the long persecution which can be expressed in the question, "What rule did the world respect in dealing with us?" That the bulk of the information media, that the focus of the rulers' optical tubes, can be entrusted to such people, or left under their influence, is a situation which can only be described as intolerable.

The limited work involved in writing this essay threw even more light on the validity of the claim. Data on the subject was exceedingly sparse and the people concerned were often unwilling to talk, "do not wish to be drawn too deeply" or "not to be quoted." Peculiarly enough, the Arabs were even more apprehensive and reluctant than the others. A Palestinian lecturer, who told me on a previous occasion that his defence of the Palestine case was jeopardising his academic career in London, ran away from my enquiry like the plague. Against this background, my indebtedness to all those who helped by volunteering to tell me their own personal experiences is all the more compelling.

In advising the ruling circles of his country on how to put their case to the Arab nation, Sir John Glubb, who has probably had more to do with the Palestine question than any Englishman, viewed the problem of British-Arab dialogue as follows:

"An interesting sidelight on the problem of explaining the viewpoint of one nation to another can be derived from the Arabs themselves, to whom today the West seems so incapable of explaining itself. For from 1920 to 1948, the Arab case in Palestine suffered under the same handicap. The Arabs had no propaganda. Burning with a bitter sense of injury, they found themselves misunderstood, particularly in the United States. The Jewish viewpoint was so efficiently propounded that the Arabs felt that they could never obtain a

fair hearing. The frustration caused by this failure to secure a sympathetic understanding turned them back to rage and violence, and built up the intense pressure of resentment, the results of which we are now witnessing.”²

The Jewish frustration and resentment over the centuries produced the Zionist mentality and the neurosis of the “peculiar people.” It is my solemn prayer that the present Arab frustration does not lead to a similar outlook of Chauvinism, isolationism and subjectivity, but nobody chooses his own psychology. It is only by how the world listens to the Arabs that the hundred million Arabs will learn how to speak.

(2) Glubb, J.B., *Britain and the Arabs*, London, 1959, p. 402.

SOLDIERS OF PRINT

One noticeable feature in the history of Zionism is the large number of journalists among the Movement's leaders. With the exception of Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Justice Brandeis, nearly every Zionist politician has been a journalist. Theodore Herzl, Moses Hess, Ben Gurion, Ben Zvi, Nachman Sykrin (the leader of Poale Zion), Nahom Sokolow (President of the W.Z.O.), Dr. M. Nordau, V. Jabotinsky (President of the New Zionist Organisation), Harry Sacher and Jacob de Haas were all journalists. From the birth of the Movement, great emphasis was put on publicity and propaganda. Unable to implement his plan for publishing a leading daily paper to speak for the Movement, Herzl had to content himself with controlling the *Correspondence de l'East*. The breakthrough in dominating the Jewish press soon came with the acquisition of the *Jewish Chronicle*. By 1931, there were 204 Zionist newspapers published throughout the world, and another 50 pro-Zionist papers.¹

Herzl had set the strategy for Zionism: "More publicity—on the largest scale. Make Europe laugh at it, swear at it, in short talk about it."² The founder of the Zionist Organisation, the leading correspondent and columnist of the influential *Neue Frie Presse*, foreshadowed what was to become an essential feature of the contemporary advertising technique. Noise was all that mattered, he went on to assert.

When the Basle Zionist Congress was convened in 1897, Palestine was ruled by Sultan Abd al Hamid who opposed Zionist colonisation in the Holy Land through fear of losing another territory of

(1) Report of the Executive to the Zionist Congress XVII, p. 18.

(2) The Complete Diaries of Theodore Herzl, Vol. 1, p. 35.

the receding Ottoman Empire. France suspected that the Zionist programme was part of the German eastward advance, whilst the Kaiser, himself, was uninterested because of his alliance with Turkey. The Vatican and the Catholic world behind it did not want to see Jerusalem in the hands of the Jews. The general public in Europe and America looked at the idea as sheer absurdity and fantasy. The Jewish nationalist aspiration was made the butt of countless jokes and Herzl relates in his diaries how he was regarded as mad by the best of his friends. If the Basle programme was going to have any chance, this massive opposition had first to be defeated by argument and persuasion.

Zionism, however, was not opposed by the gentiles as much as it was by the Jews themselves. The opposition came here from the two fronts of the European body politic. In Eastern Europe where the prospective immigrants lived, the revolutionaries and socialists in general, led by the Bund (the General Jewish Workers Alliance), preached to the Jewish masses that their battle must be fought where they lived and against the ruling class. Immigration meant escapism and the restoration to Palestine to the Jews was part of the Imperialist design. The Zionists had to fight against the tempting Marxist system of thought with all the intellectual means at their disposal. From the opposite side, the rich bourgeois class spotted danger in the eventual clash of Jewish loyalties. The rich Jews had just managed to win their full political and civil rights from the Christian governments after a long drawn battle over the question of patriotism and loyalty. A Jewish state in Palestine, it was feared, might resurrect the old questions, "Does the Jew belong to Germany or France or to Palestine? Can he be truly an Englishman? Has he any patriotism or allegiance to his country?" The bankers were uninterested in answering these questions. They just did not want them to be raised. They also knew that for the implementation of the project the Zionist leaders would soon come to them for their cash. Rothschild, de Hirsch, Montefiore and Montagu stood solidly against the Basle Programme. The task of breaking their opposition called for skilful use of the pen. Hence, Herzl spent months in writing his address

to Baron de Rothschild, the longest address he had ever written.

Among the poor, those who were not attracted to socialism thought of going to the New World rather than Palestine. Among the rich, those who wanted to relieve the increasing revolutionary pressure within the Jewish proletariat through migration thought of Argentine and East Africa rather than Palestine. The re-orientation of these groups in a Zion-Zionist direction called again on the services of the publicist.

It was thus that numerous papers and periodicals were issued in all the Jewish centres and the capitals of the powers that mattered, including Istanbul; each speaking at a different level and often with a different voice.

The fall of Palestine into the hands of parliamentary Britain, the establishment of the Mandate and the decision to submit its fate to the United Nations put further demands on the art of the publicist in the form of persuasion, information, lobbying and propaganda.

After 1948, Israel had to attract the reluctant Jew to Palestine or make him contribute continuously to keep the wheels turning and bolster up this economically unviable state. Fund raising was destined to become the true industry of Israel, and propaganda the basis of the fund raiser's business.

However, these needs were not the only factors which helped to emphasise the work of the propagandist. Among the Jews there was a high proportion of writers, artists and journalists. This Jewish preponderance in the world of letters, already notable for its cut-throat competition, prompted many gentiles to anti-Semitism and many anti-Semites to the belief in a cryptic Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world by controlling its information media. The truth is that the phenomena owed its existence to the historically anomalous position of the Jews. The Christians banned them from agriculture and the guilds, whilst the religious observances of Judaism, particularly the Sabbath, made it impossible for them to join the factory proletariat. Apart from trade and banking, only the liberal profes-

sions were left open for them. Journalism occupied the first place because of the traditional scholarship and learning of the Jews. They usually knew more than one language, lived in more than one country and enjoyed excellent cosmopolitan contacts. They naturally came forward as the best candidates for the press. Thus, with the increased reliance on commercial advertising and the preponderance of Jewish capital in industry, trade and entertainment, the Jews were destined to occupy an enviable position in the world of publicity, and it was natural for this position to influence the methods of the Zionist Organisation.

Although this phenomenon may conceivably be a cause of fear and displeasure on the part of the western gentile competitor, it should have given no cause for alarm to the Arabs. For the Jewish press had been overwhelmingly, if not unanimously, non-Zionist and anti-Zionist until the rise of Adolf Hitler. The continual trouble which Herzl had with his employer, the Jewish liberal Viennese daily *Neue Freie Presse*, was a good example. A large number of Jewish intellectuals in the socialist movement wrote against reactionary Zionism. In Britain, the Balfour Declaration was delayed for a few months and its terms were watered down in view of the opposition made, not by the Arabs, but by the assimilated representatives of the British Jewry.³ In America, the toughest obstruction to the Zionist effort after World War II hinged on the assimilated minority who later organised themselves in the American Council for Judaism. Even at the present time, the most effective resistance to Zionism in the war of the words is made by Jews such as Eric Rouleau, Maxime Rodinson and Ania Francas in France, Rabbi E. Berger, Moshe Menuhin and A. Lilienthal in America, and a large number of Marxist intellectuals everywhere, particularly within Trotsky's Fourth International and the New Left.⁴ Furthermore, the Jews had been traditionally friendly towards the world of Islam

(3) c.f. Stein, L. *The Balfour Declaration*, London, 1961.

(4) Israeli sources have made a rough estimate of the number of Jews in the New Left and put the figure at 30%.

because of its comparative tolerance towards Jews and the refuge it had given to the Jewish victims of European persecution.

The position, however, started to change after the collapse of the Turkish Empire and the occupation of Palestine by Britain. The Jewish National Home became official British policy and part of the imperialist system of the western world. Thenceforth, the question of the split, or double loyalty, was removed from debate in the Anglo-Saxon world, at least for the time being. Zionism became patriotism. With the rise of Hitler to power, his conquest of Europe and the setting up of the extermination camps and gas ovens, the Jews were stunned into a dazed bewilderment. It appeared that the Zionists were, after all, right. Anti-Semitism could not be erased. The Jew must seek his salvation in Palestine, and so on. The wind of change was reflected in the spectacular increase in Zionist membership. The British Zionist Federation multiplied its members fivefold⁵ and the Board of Deputies of British Jews developed a Zionist majority in 1943. The establishment of Israel and the misleading successes which it has scored, made Zionism appear to many Jews as a reason for pride after the long history of humiliation, and a form of insurance against future repetitions of Hitler's pogroms. The sarcastic laughter with which the intellectual Jew used to receive the Zionist agent was now turned into a feverish, often neurotic, screech of enthusiasm reverberating all over the western press.

The massive resources of talent, funds and public relations were accordingly harnessed to the service of the political work of the World Zionist Organisation whose basic aim was the suppression of the Palestine voice, the denial of its existence and the distortion of any whimper which it might give. The attainment of this goal, which proved to be an easy task for the WZO, resulted in the fate of Palestine and the merits of Palestinian rights being decided without any regard to the wishes of the people concerned, their opinions or their pleadings.

(5) Taylor, A.R., *Prelude to Israel*, London, 1961, p. 66.

THE ARAB POSITION

Readers have to be careful not to reach the conclusion, often asserted by many Arab sympathisers, that the Arabs have had no chance of putting their case at all. From time to time, Arab spokesmen are given ample opportunity on the screen and radio, and their letters are not always ignored by the press. It is true that the Balfour Declaration was given without any consultation with the Arabs, but the subsequent major decisions affecting Palestine were only taken after lengthy examination by many royal and international commissions, and direct talks with some representatives of the Palestinians. The Arabs, also, are not altogether without friends to plead their cause in the columns of the newspapers. Yet such is the western way of life and the mental state of its followers, that the pleading of this case becomes a waste of time and energy.

Having been sated with arguments and grown sceptical towards the mathematical jugglery of statistics and clever editing of documentation, the average contemporary citizen has surrounded himself with an insulation layer of group norms and values against the seduction of argument. Even during the forties, when people were expected to be impressionable and exposed to propaganda, under the stress of the war, American research students revealed that the mass media had made no independent effect on the public, despite the increased volume of political information. Such findings were corroborated by the results of the work undertaken by Leeds University in the United Kingdom on the British general election campaigns of 1959 and 1964. It was found that the public followed the political programmes on television, not to modify their opinions or make up their minds on the issues of the day, but simply to confirm their already established opinions. In his illusory pursuit of the

freedom of choice, contemporary man rebels against being told what to think and revels in defending his own ideas—or what he thinks are his own ideas. In such a situation, the casual Arab speaker can only serve as a foil to support and enhance the anti-Arab opinion.

Whilst dismissing television as a potent modulator of the prevailing opinion, the Leeds University research unit reached the conclusion that such a prevailing opinion which the average man holds as his own is, in fact, the result of being subjected over a long period to a multiplicity of social and personal factors, themselves conditioned by television.¹ The group norms which form an insulation layer against the intrusion of the new idea and the seduction of the mass media are, ironically, no more than the slow harvest of the mass media. "The citizen's act of judgement between the two sides can, however, take place only within the framework of his general assumptions and his background knowledge built up slowly over the years... They will not, for most people, be made clearer by any discussion that does not start with elementary and first principles."²

In Western Europe and North America, nearly all these elementary and first principles stand in the way of the Palestinian. He is here up against the series of pre-conceptions and images related traditionally to the Muslims, the Arabs, the coloured and the orientals, and steadily reinforced and diversified by the Zionist and his sympathisers.³ There is a slow but sure process taking place in such examples as an innocent joke, a sketch, a cartoon, a caricature, a commercial advertisement, a film, a pop song, a religious programme, a seemingly innocent news item or documentary—and so on. In April 1969, the small Arab community of London had much ado about a commercial advertisement carried by *Honey* and other women's magazines advertising Triumph underwear. The model exhibiting the wares was herself being offered for sale as a slave by a group

(1) Trenaman, Dr. J., & McQuail, D., *Television and the Political Image*, London, 1961, p. 233.

(2) Scupham, J., *Broadcasting and Community*, London, 1967, p. 136.

(3) For the Zionist portrait of the Arab, c.f., pp. 48 & 49.

of turbaned Arabs, with the caption: "Undies to be sold in . . . The will of Allah could catch you in your undies any time."

One cannot quarrel with the advertisement without appearing ridiculous, but it can still serve as a recent example of the element which makes the public image of any personality or nationality. No similar theme at the expense of the Jews can be considered by any advertiser, or else he will have to face the charge of anti-Semitism. In a BBC programme, a commentator spoke of the various beauty queens and expressed his admiration for Miss Israel because she was not only beautiful but also intelligent. When asked about her wish in life she replied that she would like to go back to Israel and shoot the Arabs, he said. A series of property advertisements were carried by the *Observer* for Roy Brooks, Estate Agents, containing a peculiar juxtaposition of advertising and venomous attacks on the Arabs. Two of these notices, irrelevantly leading the list of properties offered for sale, read as follows:

(1) "When you've driven a murderer off your doorstep who, for years, has been killing members of your family and threatens to exterminate the lot of you—'kill children and women first' were Nasser's words a couple of weeks ago (sic)—you'd be a fool to allow him back again. Particularly when Chief of Police U Thant sent his force on indefinite leave just when you needed them most. When you look down as I did yesterday from the heights and compare the arid neglect of the old Jordanian sector with that lovingly cultivated by the Israelis, there is little doubt in my mind as to whom this city really belongs. In Bethlehem I visited the Shrine of the Nativity and bought Falafel and a Bongo Drum from apparently contented Arabs. Israel guardianship of Holy Places is okay by me, but then I'm not a politician—just an unbiased onlooker. I've inspected Hussein's Jerusalem home: it is a modernistic suburban monstrosity, furnished in execrable taste, uncut moquette, pearl plastic dressing table and a Uzi sub-machine gun slung from a pink plastic coat hanger in Muna's bedroom—it's worse than anything I've seen in Hampstead."

(2) "Gazing on Gaza, Arabs seem contented enough with plenty of business (their Chamber of Commerce eagerly cooperated even during war!) Sat comfortably at Kantara on gilt and pink silks damask chair on Suez Canal bank—apparently Wednesday early closing day for snipers. Further along an Israeli soldier raised his Russian hat—from a T.55—"Welcome to Jewish Ismailia." Israelis already laid new water main through Sinai desert and genuinely want to work with Arabs for a mutual green prosperity. If America and Russia don't extinguish, instead of inflating their Ky's and Nasser's, more will rot in the sun in a golden world in which there is so much to live for.

"P.S. Re my comments on Hussein's house which evoked a reader's 'intense disgust'—I reserve my 'intense disgust' for those who conspire to exterminate their neighbours."⁴

Peeping into women's bedrooms seems to be a matter of better taste for the Observer and the "unbiased onlooker."

The potency of such minor trivialities as set against the impotence of the serious political debates is that they catch the citizen unaware—when he has taken off his insulation layer and is off his guard in careless relaxation. This is the time for the teacher, the artist, the humourist, the commentator, the traveller and the writer of general interest. None of them is Arab, as far as the western world is concerned. The Zionist preponderance in these fields sees to it that the right images, preconceptions and group norms vis-à-vis the Middle East are created. They include such notions that the Arabs are destructive, lazy, backward, opposed to progress, wasting the wealth of the area, unfit for democratic rule, etc. The Zionist here, in all fairness, is only playing on the already established preconceptions of the colonialist mind, a fact which contrasts the easy effectiveness of the same Arab speaker among the Afro-Asian, the coloured and the anti-imperialists in general, with his frustrations among the average western audience.

(4) *Observer*, 25 June 1967, 9 July 1967. Roy Brooks is a regular advertiser of the *Observer*.

In questioning most average members of this audience on the roots of their sympathies with Israel, one cannot find any specific point of conversion or decision. Mr. Richard Crossman goes to considerable lengths to make his final decision on the side of the Jewish state the result of painstaking, conscious work and careful weighing of the pros and cons during his work with the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry.⁵ One puzzles over his effort at telling us the story, for his position had been already on record in the Labour Party as that of a pro-Zionist long before he was attached to the Committee. Notwithstanding his political and intellectual experience, or probably because of it, he seems to be no better or worse than Mr. Average who thinks that he is making his own objective decision on the question before him.

In the face of the foregoing, we can appreciate the despair of the Arab intelligentsia in entertaining any hope of reaching the political mind of the West. "London and Washington can only understand the language of the guns. Money spent on information and public relations is money poured down the drain. The Arab League Information Centres should be closed." Nevertheless, the Arab states and organisations have not closed down their shops for good reason. In the liberal democracies, there is always a margin of the floating minority, the non-committed and the rebellious. Returning to the worthy work carried out by Dr. Jay Blumer and Denis McQuail of Leeds University,⁶ the impact of the mass media seems to be impressive on this marginal group of people, on the look-out for worthwhile causes, for the under-dogs and for the less publicised. The obvious field which comes to mind in present times is the widespread student movement and the scores of militant organisations which come within the fold of the New Left, albeit they cannot be bracketed in any sense as non-committed.

Nor is this the only opportunity, however narrow, open to the Arab case, as explained elsewhere. But the Arabs have had none of

(5) Crossman, R., *Palestine Mission*, London, 1950.

(6) Blumer, J.G. & McQuail, D., *Television and Politics*, London, 1969.

the tools which can be reasonably described as adequate for this particular job. They were placed in the diametrically opposite position to that of the Zionists. They were in effective possession, and all that they wanted was to preserve the status quo. The position of defence is often the one which is next neighbour to defeat. No inspiring demand was therefore put on their facilities and potentialities, of which, anyhow, they had very little. They knew no European languages and had no diaspora in the west. However proud the Arab may be in his Arabism and Arabic tongue, he is inherently non-nationalist and anti-racist. He inter-marries easily and integrates with his new society quickly. Very few of the expatriate Arabs in Europe and America, who were in the best position to publicise the Arab case, took any interest in it at all.

The Arabs had, therefore, no option but to rely on the interpreter and hire the services of the foreign publicist who lived thousands of miles away from their policy making centres, and who had his own axe to grind. In addition, the Palestinian had nothing like the Zionist financial resources to allocate for expensive information machinery, nor the British and American income tax offices to imburse his political expenses. For the Zionist Organisation, information remained the first priority as little else could the organisation do in the field for a good many years. The Arabs had the more urgent problems of health, education, poverty and foreign oppression.

The linguistic inadequacies were far less serious than the intellectual problems. The Arabs are not Englishmen and their verbal communication, given in their own natural style of melodramatic, didactic and rhetorical verbiage and hypnotic repetition, is hardly adequate stuff for the Londoner who finishes his daily paper during his 'bus ride between Kensington and the 'West End.'

AN even more serious intellectual shortcoming of the Arabs is their different political background, which has no precedents of western parliamentary life. They had no knowledge of the working of a western government and the role which public opinion plays

in its making and unmaking. The clashes between Bevin and Shinwell, and between Truman and Forrestal were to the Arabs no more than a cops and robbers game at best, and a sinister trick at worst. The son of the desert has no experience of fog and mist or spring and autumn. The static life affords no experience of the complex dynamics of an industrial world verging on explosion. The Arabs were unable to see what forces might hide behind each speaker in a parliamentary debate or how to exploit the contradictions that opened up. The inability to recognise information as a fundamental weapon in this conflict was an inevitable error for which the Palestinians have paid dearly.

As it went, the battle was a simple case of an unequal combat.

ARAB CASE GOES BY DEFAULT

The influence on the western press is something in which the Jewish nationalists take great pride. M. Beigin makes interesting observations on the matter:

"It is a fact that no partisan struggle had been so publicised throughout the world as was ours. While our revolt was in progress, a number of battles of considerable magnitude were fought in the Greek mountains. They were accorded but a few lines in the world's press. The reports on our operations, under screaming headlines, covered the front pages of newspapers everywhere, particularly in the United States."

Beigin goes on to describe this influence on the press as a glass shell behind which the Jewish nationalists work. Arms, he said, were their weapons of attack and the press shell was their shield of defence.¹ As soon as the British took over in Palestine, General Allenby felt the weight of the propaganda pressure of the Zionists, and wrote asking "to restrain the exuberance of their press supporters."²

What General Allenby complained of was practically nothing to what the world has witnessed since the end of World War II. By then, it had already become a set procedure to step up the information war whenever the Zionist Organisation faced a crisis. During the 1928/9 disturbances, 65 new papers were published in 19 countries.³ The 1936 Arab revolt brought the number of Zionist newspapers to 246. During the war, it was reported that in 1944, 10

(1) Beigin, M., *The Revolt*, London, p. 56.

(2) Allenby to Curzon, *Document on British Foreign Policy*, 1919-39, First Series, Vol. IV, p. 325.

(3) Report of the Zionist Executive Congress XVI, p. 42.

per cent of the 3,300 news columns reprinting Zionist Organisation press releases were found in the general American press. As the day of reckoning in Palestine approached, the ratio was increased to 25 per cent in the following year, in a total of 4,000 columns.⁴ Full page advertisements were repeatedly bought in America's leading dailies. The American Zionist Emergency Council, with 380 local committees, was created and charged with the task of moulding the public opinion of the States. The American Palestine Committee was formed in 1941 for work with the gentiles, and the Christian Council on Palestine for the penetration of the church.

As for the Anglo-Jewish newspapers, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency supplied daily news bulletins and weekly feature articles to 80 percent of them. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency is a subsidiary of the World Zionist Organisation and receives annual aid from the Jewish Agency; it had been bought from its ill owner by the Zionist without their giving public notice of the take over. It is difficult to ascertain how much is spent exactly on reaching and holding on to this strategic position vis-à-vis world public opinion. The 1960 reorganisation of the United Jewish Appeal (the fund raising organisation in the United States which feeds Israel with the largest foreign contribution) revealed that during the preceding ten years, about \$15,000,000 of its money was returned to the United States from the Jewish Agency for propaganda and cultural work in the States.⁵

The dissemination of pro-Israeli information, according to the investigations of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, conducted in 1963 was carried out through a "maze of overlapping and interlocking directorates" based on six main organisations, namely, the Herzl Foundation, the Council on Middle Eastern Affairs, the American Association for Middle East Studies, the American

(4) Stevens, R.P., *American Zionism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 1942-47, N.Y., 1962, p. 21. The role of Zionist propaganda in influencing U.S. policies is also outlined in S. Halperin, *Political World of American Zionism*, Detroit, 1961, pp. 253-280.

(5) Rosenwald, L.J., *The U.J.A. Funds Reorganisation*, American Council for Judaism, N.Y.

Christian Palestine Committee, the Inter-University Committee on Israel, and the Hebrew Culture Foundation. The famous report of the Senate Committee quotes some of the propaganda work which included cultivation of editors, stimulation and placement of articles, arrangements for radio, TV and film materials, encouraging networks and stations to create programmes on Israel, cultivation of key religious leaders and academic personalities, monitoring and counter-action of material, preparation of materials for schools, assistance to publishers, distribution of books, utilisation of speakers, liason with organisations particularly of the negro community, providing subsidies for visits to Israel by public opinion moulders, etc.⁶

No government, let alone a political organisation, carries out propaganda work in the United States to the volume of the World Zionist Organisation and its associate organisations. The effect of their propaganda machinery on the Middle Eastern policies of the western states is the subject of a few books. But no writer can omit to mention the two arms of Israel, i.e. propaganda and fund raising, in any work connected with Israel and Zionism.

As more Jews succumbed to the lure of Zionism and its solution of the Jewish problem, the World Zionist Organisation began to win influential people in the high spheres of international politics.⁷ The involvement of the Zionist programme in parliamentary elections and the trading in Jewish votes go back to the 1900 election in Britain when the English Zionist Federation made its programme an election issue upon which 60 candidates had given their pledges. Herzl described their achievement as "the smartest step that has been taken in our movement for a long time."⁸ The pressure on the British parliament and members of the government

(6) Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 1963. Substantial summary of the Report is given by M. Menuhin in *"The Decadence of Judaism in our Time,"* N.Y., 1964.

(7) The Zionists dismiss such opinions as offshoots of the Tzarist "Protocols" forgery. The irony is that it is the Zionists who insist on the existence of a Jewish nation and a Jewish block vote, and persuade aspirant nominees to win it by giving concessions to Israel.

(8) Herzl, Vol. III, 981-2.

was maintained by the influential Parliamentary Palestine Committee. In 1944, the Zionist Organisation of America made the establishment of a Jewish state the basic issue upon which the Jew was going to cast his vote. The campaign opened the doors of the White House to the frequent visits of Rabbi Stephen Wise and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, and the pro-Zionist policies of America were established.⁹

The American pro-Israel lobby is one of the most influential pressure groups in the world. Mr. Alfred Lilienthal, an anti-Zionist Jew, made a valuable study of the manoeuvres and manipulations of the pro-Zionist Jews and their fellow travellers in shaping American Middle Eastern policies by penetrating the White House, the Pentagon, the Congress and the Senate. Public opinion was methodically captured and "moulded," by dominating the press, radio and television, and by penetrating the universities and research centres, etc.¹⁰ A remarkable indication of Zionist penetration may be observed in the identical mind which was behind the political thinking of the two American political parties and the Jewish Agency in 1944, as shown in the terms of their resolutions (which constituted a new departure):

1. "...designating Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth." (Jewish Agency Memorandum of 16th October 1944 to the British Government).

2. "...establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." (Resolution by the Democratic Party Convention, July 1944).

3. "Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic Commonwealth." (Republican Party Platform, June 1944).¹¹

It is noteworthy also that during the same year these identical resolutions were not only passed by the two American political parties

(9) Litvinoff, B., *A Peculiar People*, London, 1969, p. 44.

(10) Lilienthal, A., *What Price Israel*, Chicago, 1953; *The Other side of the Coin*, N.Y., 1965. See also, Kirk, G., *The Middle East in the War*.

(11) Documents relating to the Palestine problem, Jewish Agency, 1945.

but also by the Labour party of Britain and the Board of Deputies of British Jews (which had fallen into Zionist hands a year before).

Mr. Moshe Menuhin sent out an emotional curse on the Zionist custodians of American public opinion in his *"Decadence of Judaism in Our Time."* Strange that no such work has been done in Britain, and the story of Zionist back room string pulling in the United Kingdom remains fragmentary or mere speculation.

In America, the influence which Justice Brandeis had on President Wilson is a recognised factor in issuing the Balfour Declaration. Indeed, one of the elements of Balfour's thinking was the influence which the American Zionists might have had on their Government.¹² During the decisive years of 1947-1949, President Truman was guided in his policies on the Middle East by his Executive Assistant, David K. Niles. The State Department, observed the Defence Secretary in his special Memorandum of 21 January 1948, was "seriously embarrassed and handicapped by the activities of Niles at the White House in going directly to the President on matters involving Palestine."¹³ Lilienthal relates that General Riley discovered that military secret reports at the Pentagon were known by the Israeli representative but were not shown to him.¹⁴ Earlier, during the war, the Jewish Agency had assured Beigin that many doors which were shut to the leaders of the allied governments in exile, with General De Gaulle in the fore, were open to the World Zionist Organisation.¹⁵ On 18th March 1948, the historical meeting occurred between Weizmann and Truman, and the American President was won over to the cause of the Jewish State. The meeting was arranged, much against the wishes of the President, by a Mr. Eddie Jacobson, the ex-Kansas City partner of Mr. Truman. Against this drive, the Secretary for Defence, Mr. James Forrestal, led an uphill struggle to dissociate American policies from a pro-Zionist direction. He attempted to persuade both parties "to lift the Pales-

(12) See Stein.

(13) *The Forrestal Diaries*, edited by W. Millis, London, 1952, p. 344.

(14) *What Price Israel*, p. 95.

(15) Beigin, p. 141.

tine question out of American partisan life" in deference to U.S. interests in the Middle East. The Zionist Organisation of America spotted the danger. Forrestal's attempt was therefore resisted with all the available pressure (anti-Semitism topping the list) and the Secretary for Defence was driven to despair and eventual suicide.¹⁶

The notable pro-Israel orientation of the Johnson administration was also marked by concentrated Zionist presence in his inner circle. The scandalous case of Abe Fortas, the Associate Justice of the politically influential Supreme Court, lifted the lid from some of the unsavoury work behind America's public life. Abe Fortas acted as an Adviser to President Johnson, who, in turn, submitted his name as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Justice Fortas probably wanted to take the mantle of Justice Brandeis, but the discovery of an annual cheque of \$20,000 for life from the Wolfson family foundation was more than could go with the seat of a Supreme Court Justice, and the scandal forced his resignation.¹⁷

The last bastion, the State Department, fell to the Zionist lobby in more recent years. Dr. P. Reibenfield, the co-chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Zionist Organisation of America, described the change and mentioned the importance of the American Zionist citizens in handling Washington on behalf of Israel:¹⁸ "We can make suitable contacts to emphasise this. Already the Public Affairs Committee of ZOA has valuable contacts with the State Department, who participate with us in briefing meetings throughout the country. I believe that the original British-sponsored anti-Israel orientation of the Loy Henderson days has changed, and that we as American citizens have helped to change it."

The allegiance of these American citizens is now subject to bargaining on behalf of Israeli expansion. President Johnson was ready to trade in American support for the Israeli position in the

(16) The story of his painful struggle is given in his Diaries, cited above.

(17) *International Herald Tribune*, 16 May, 1969.

(18) *Jerusalem Post*, 17 June, 1968.

occupied territories for the Jewish support of these American citizens for the American presence in Vietnam.

As Zionist influence on U.S. Middle Eastern policies is accepted by historians, U.S. influence on the policies of other western countries is also accepted with the same ease. Britain, for example, was seriously handicaped during the crucial months of the post-war mandate by its need for American aid under the European Recovery Programme. The Zionist club utilised the fact to the full, and called for a reconsideration of American aid to Britain in view of her aid to the Arab Legion of Transjordan. The way the votes of the Latin American states are cast in any U.N. debate on Palestine is a constant reminder of U.S. domination on South America and the post-war Western world. Thanks to this enviable position, Israel was able to get away with the fruits of most of her conquests.

In the United Kingdom, the influence of the Manchester School of Zionists during the Great War is a recognised landmark in the history of the Balfour Declaration. It was often pointed out, as in America with its massive Zionist presence, that no member of Parliament was an Arab or had Arabs in his constituency. There was, consequently, no Arab pressure that could be brought to bear on the moulders and controllers of the policies vis-à-vis the Middle East. Given the inadequacy of Arab information and public relations, the case of Palestine could not but go under, as far as Parliament was concerned. Nevertheless, there have been groups of sympathisers drawn from two sections of public life. There were those politicians who had in mind the long term interests of their own country in the Arab World in general. There was also a minority of idealists who had the chance of seeing the other side of the Palestine question. In the twenties, the Arabophile lobby was powerful enough as to secure a majority vote against the Balfour Declaration in the House of Lords.

As the refugees from Central Europe began to harass the Western capitals and the power of the Zionist Organisation penetrated deeper and further, more and more politicians and publicists

rallied to the banner of Zionism. When the fate of Palestine was debated again in February 1936 with the object of granting its population a legislative council, only Lord Plymouth, the Government spokesman, spoke for the Arab case. The last chance of giving the people of Palestine a voice in the destiny of their country was destroyed and their case, as was remarked at the time, went by default.¹⁹ Since then, only a handful of members speak for the Palestinians.

The easy access which Dr. Chaim Weizmann and his colleagues had in Whitehall is common knowledge. The Arabs could never have dreamt of the kind of informal meetings which he used to have with the prime ministers and secretaries of state at home, during tea parties and private dinners and tête-à-tête conversations. Colonel R. Meinertzhagen cites this startling piece from a discussion which took place at Mr. Balfour's house on July 22nd, 1921, between Weizmann, Lloyd George, Arthur Balfour and Winston Churchill:

Dr. W. continuing on position of Zionism, stoppage of emigration, non-granting of necessary concessions for development, lack of security for Jewish population, apropos of which he said, "We were gun-running and I can't allow it."

W.C. (interrupting): "We won't mind it, but don't speak of it."

Dr. W.: "I would like it sanctioned. Is it agreed?"

They all agreed to this.

W.C. took official view of the Administration showing the difficult situation that had arisen owing to the B. Declaration which was opposed by the Arabs, nine-tenths of the British officials on the spot, and some of the Jews in Palestine. He said it was a poor country in which destitute emigrants could not be dumped.

(19) Cf. Peel Report, 1937, Cmd., 5479.

Dr. W. refuted this and spoke of "representative Government Project."

W.C. quoted Mesopotamia and Transjordan, to which Dr. W. replied, "You will not convince me that self-government has been given to these lands because you think it right. It has only been done because you must," to which L.G., A.J.B., and W.C. all agreed.

Dr. W. "If you do the same thing with Palestine it means giving up Palestine—and that is what I want to know."

L.G. to W.C.: "You mustn't give representative government to Palestine."

W.C. "I might have to bring it before the Cabinet. Of course questions affecting the National Home would be eliminated from the purview of the representative Government."

Dr. W. said this was impossible, and after a general refutation of arguments used, the talk became general for a while.

Then W.C. spoke of the Arab delegation and felt sure that a modus operandi could be worked out with them for the next three years.

Dr. W. doubted this, he regarded the Arabs as political blackmailers and could only talk with them when he knew the position of the British Government.

L.G.: "Frankly speaking, you want to know whether we are going to keep our pledges?"

Dr. W.: "Yes." A.J.B. nodded.

L.G.: "You must do a lot of propaganda. Samuel is rather weak."

Dr. W.: "The irony of the situation is that we are charged with being a burden on the British taxpayer which is

nonsense," and he pointed out why, to which L.G. and A.J.B. agreed but not W.C.

Dr. W. pointed out the absurdity of the charge that we were taking the bread of the Arabs—L.G. laughed and asked how much money we had spent, and he was impressed by Dr. W.'s answer. Further, Dr. W. explained how difficult it was and how much this money represented for Zionists in present situation and insisted that everything depended on them having confidence.

W.C.: "Well, what would satisfy you in the way of immigration?"

Dr. W.: "I can't formulate it in numbers, but in conditions, e.g. the granting of the large Rutenberg concession"—he agreed to the severance of the Palestinian army from H.Q. in Egypt—he looked upon the formulation of a neutral police as a very good idea.

L.G. at the end of the conversation said that a part of the money should be set aside for the purpose of bribing the Arabs.²⁰

All this time the Arab delegates were resting at their hotel. The light hearted manner with which the three British politicians looked at the Palestine question is typically contrasted by the determined pressure of the World Zionist Organisation representative. Marcus Sieff intimated that in only the two months of August and September 1948, he had fifty meetings with the chief party leaders of Britain (except Bevin and Churchill) on behalf of Israel.²¹

In the Labour party it was left to the Poale-Zionists (Jewish Socialist-Labour Party) to carry on the task. In nearly every annual conference, a pro-Zionist resolution on Palestine was proposed by the Poale-Zionist members and endorsed, often unanimously, by the

(20) Meinertzhagen, R., *Middle East Diary*, London, 1959, pp. 103-106, also Sykes, C., *Cross Roads to Israel*, London, 1965, pp. 79-81.

(21) McDonald, J., *My Mission in Israel*, London, 1951.

uninformed delegates.²² The same influence was manifested in the deliberations of the trade union congresses. In 1944, Mr. Attlee moved the ill-considered motion to remove the Arab population and lay the foundations for a Jewish majority. The resolution is known to be the work of Harold Laski, the Chairman of the Labour Party at the time. It certainly reads like one of the previous Poale Zionist resolutions brought up to date and in harmony with the new orientation of the Jewish Agency. Exactly two years earlier, the Poale Zionist Conference called, in December 1942, for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. During the fierce battle against the Mandate, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. E. Bevin, was subjected to a tremendous pressure exerted by such colleagues as Emanuel Shinwell, Philip Noel Baker, Barnet Janner and Sidney Silverman, who worked round the clock in desperate efforts to sway the policies of their Government. It was due to the intervention of the Minister of State, Philip Noel Baker, that a unanimous report was signed by the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine to corner the Foreign Secretary after the impasse and sharp differences of opinion in which the Committee found itself.²³

Between the two wars, France became notorious for her change of governments. Dr. Weizmann tells us, however, that he managed to meet every new Prime Minister from Poincare to Reynaud. His contact was Le'on Blum, who kept Nahum Sokolow, President of the Zionist Organisation, semi-officially informed of the developments in France. Aristide Briand was also ready to cooperate "and praise the oranges which he used to receive from us."²⁴ In later years, Marcel Dassault, the eminent Jewish industrialist and head of the aircraft company producing the Mirage, was destined to play an important part in the military plans of Tel Aviv. He introduced Shimon Peres, in 1953, to Paul Reynaud, the Deputy Prime Minister,

(22) Cf., e.g., S. Levenburg, *The Jews and Palestine*, London, 1945, pp. 215-251.

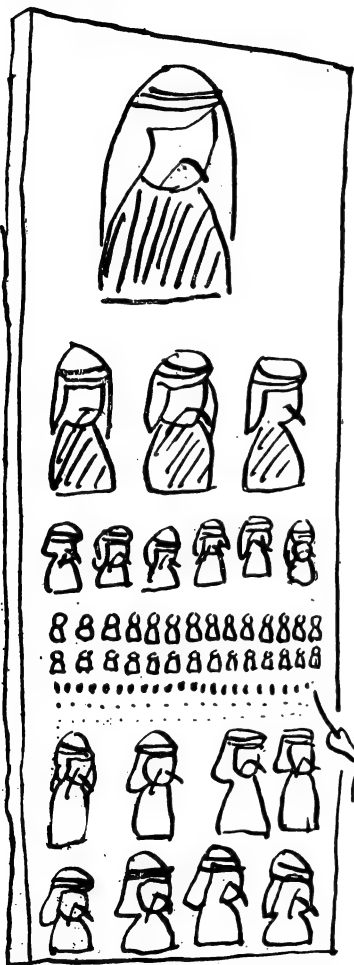
(23) Kimche, J., *Seven Fallen Pillars*, London, 1953, p. 58. Kimche mentions that the Cabinet included eight or nine avowed supporters of Zionism, but not a single authority on the Middle East, *Ibid.*, p. 158.

(24) Weizmann, C., *Trial and Error*, London, 1950, p. 450.

and other leading personalities in French politics and defence forces. The introduction paved the way for France's armament of the Israeli Army and the joint Suez Campaign.

The socialist camp was not spared such manoeuvres. Whilst the rulers of the Arab world at the time refused to have any dealings with Moscow or establish diplomatic relations with it, the Jewish Agency made contact with the Soviet Union via the Red Army in occupation of Iran and through the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee. The Kremlin's startling change of position, in 1947, to the support of a Jewish state remains partly a mystery and partly a matter of opinion. But it is on record that the Kremlin, little informed on the Middle East, was assured by such contacts that there were enough communist Russians in Palestine to ensure that the Jewish state would become a bastion for the Soviet Union and world communism on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Stalin's realisation of the true position in the fifties, was considered as one reason for the purge of his "rootless cosmopolitans," who failed to give their undivided loyalty to the Soviet Union.²⁵ The Arabs had some voice in the West, but had absolutely nobody in Moscow. Ahmad ash-Shuqayri related, on 29th November 1965, how he used to see the Zionist representatives toing and froing between their office and the office of the Soviet delegate in New York during the fateful months of 1947, and at the same time no Arab venturing towards the same door for fear of displeasing their Western friends.

(25) Cf., Deutscher, I., *Stalin*, Penguin Books, 1966, p. 591, and Laqueur, W.Z., *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, London, 1959, pp. 148-149.



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WHAT ARABS?



WHAT ARABS?

The Arabs may grudge the influence which the Zionist Organisation enjoys, but this is exactly how western democracy is normally run, with publicity, lobbying and string pulling as part of its system. Arab grievances, however, become more legitimate when it comes to outright suppression of their case, often by unfair, unethical or even unlawful means.

The Jewish nationalists resort to such means was made necessary by the nature of Zionism, an emotional attachment and an escapist neurosis, which has nothing to do with reason or logic. The intense fervour of this state of mind, the product of fear and persecution mania, made the Zionist see everything in the light and colour of his programme and everything was justified by its final goal. His double-dealing, duplicity, multi-level speaking and outright falsification have become natural.

It was the Jews who were the first to fall lamentably victim to Zionist fraud. Herzl's juggling with facts and figures became notorious in his own day. To the Sultan he spoke of the money ready for him once he opened Palestine. To the Jews, he spoke of the Sultan ready to open Palestine once the Jews produced the money. He reported to the bankers the fate of the Jews who could not go to Palestine for lack of ready funds, and to the Jews the hesitation of the bankers for lack of ready immigrants. Even Chaim Weizmann had to rebel against his "method of bluff and ostentation." The deceit of his organisation reached the limit when it published falsely before his address (1896) to the Jewish Working Men's Club, that he was conducting direct talks with the Sultan, when the Sultan had never even seen his face.

When this is the case with regard to the Jews themselves, what scruples can the World Zionist Organisation have in its dealings with the gentile world, or even more so with the Arabs? The Zionists are ready to tell anybody whose help they need anything which suits him. To the socialist parties, the Poale Zionist said that Zionism was socialism and pointed to the kibbutzim. To the Americans, they spoke of the free enterprise of Tel Aviv. In Britain, Goldreich did his best, at the behest of Theodore Herzl, "to convince Lord Milner that what he called imperialism is identical with Zionism."¹ To the world at large, they proclaimed, during the Peace Conference of Paris, that no government was good enough to rule over Palestine except the just and democratic government of Great Britain. To the Arabs, Dr. Weizmann preached that the country was in need of the careful training of the experienced hands of England. Once Britain had played her useful part they shouted, "Out with the unclean sons of Titus! Down with the British Nazi regime!"² They kicked her out and told the emergent nations that they were liberating the Middle East from imperialism. Whilst Zionist agents were telling Stalin that Israel would soon go communist, Marcus Sief was seeing nearly every politician in Britain to assure him that Israel would keep to the capitalist path. They prayed for the future of profit making and received ships from capitalist concerns, and then sang the International and recruited exiled Spanish sailors. The use of the little known Hebrew and Yiddish facilitated the multi-level transmission of the publicist. Topol's anthology of songs were called, on the same record sleeve, "*Israeli Freedom Songs*" in English, and "*Topol in Songs of War*" in Hebrew. Yitzhak Ben Zvi's book on Israel's second class citizens, the oriental Jews, was called in Hebrew "*Outcasts of Israel*" (Nidchay Tisrael), but the English translation has the title "*The Exiled and the Redeemed*." Whilst the Israeli delegate was telling the United Nations that Tel Aviv adhered to the Security Council Resolution of November 1967, on evacuation, the Hebrew press was telling the Israelis to carry on

(1) Goldreich to Wolfson, Stein, L., *The Balfour Declaration*, London, 1961, p. 314.

(2) Kol Israel, 29 June, 1946.

quietly with the work of gradual annexation. Deception has become the established weapon of those who have suffered centuries of oppression.

In fact, there is no better example of Zionist fraud than the Zionist himself, preaching all his life that a Jew can never feel at home outside his own Jewish National Home, and yet spending his own entire life outside that Home. Such contradictions were simply glossed over by the usual jingoism and emotional rhetoric, or simply submerged in further equivocation and fraud, with the choice tricks of the modern propagandist and advertiser, i.e. repetitiveness, direct appeal, sensationalism, omission of basic facts, optical illusions and disrespect to facts.

The scores of rational questions which the Basle Programme posed were simply swept under the carpet. Of such questions was the one related to the Arab population. The only way to handle the issue was to pretend that there was nobody living in Palestine. So scanty was the reference to the indigenous inhabitants that only one casual reference was made to them in Herzl's "*Jewish State*," and four similar references in his long diaries. Not once did he mention the natives in his six addresses at the six Zionist congresses which he had attended. His second-in-command, Dr. M. Nordau, wrote in his pamphlet "*Zionism*," about the blessings which the Jewish National Home was going to bring to the "Christian nations, civilisation and international economy." Nothing to the natives—and no mention of them. Zionist congresses and publications continued to omit all mention of the Arabs so much so that many Zionist leaders, like Ahad Ha'am, received a shock when they visited Palestine and saw that there was a population already there. "We abroad are accustomed to believe that Palestine nowadays is almost entirely desolate,"⁸ he wrote after his visit to the Holy Land in 1891-92. "The people without a land to the land without a people" was the slogan sold by the Jewish nationalists spokesmen to the princes of European politics. Chaim Weizmann, however, denied at a later date that he and his colleagues were altogether unaware that Palestine was inhabited by somebody!

The almost neurotic obsession for denying the existence of the ghost population finds expression in everything remotely connected with the ghost. Michael Selzer related how he was once asked in Israel to write a brochure on the new Israeli Museum. Teddy Kollek told him the Museum was built in the style of Arab Palestine villages. The author put this in his brochure, but he was asked to alter that into a "typical Mediterranean village." (sic)³ The obliteration of all Arab names of sites and localities wherever the Israeli army went, follows the same principle.

The omission of the Arab—the invisible man as he was called by Uri Avneri, the Editor of *Haolam Hazeḥ*—has been a fact noted by most scholars including the Zionists themselves,⁴ and not without sound reason. The outdated writings of Frances Bacon may still claim a fresh relevance in the case of Jewish nationalism. Bacon's theory on mental illusions says that the *idola tribus*, which make up a large proportion of the illusions of man, can only survive by a ruthless rejection of all solid facts which contradict the tribal illusion. The negation of the Palestinian, in the context of the Zionist tribal illusion, is like any tribe's negation of the land beyond the sea, the village behind the hill and the limbo after death.

Ultimately, the physical resort to arms by the Palestinians could not but dispel the illusion and impose the evidence of the eye on the reluctant mind. The Zionists were forced to deal with the subject and they had no option but to distort and underplay. Arab resistance was simply the work of a few Christians instigated by France, then a cluster of Muslim families in the pay of Hitlerite Germany, and lately a faction of communists inspired by Russia and China. Behind it all is the traditional and everlasting opposition of the orient to progress. To substantiate the allegations, W.B. Ziff went to great lengths in drawing a picture of the Muslim Palestinian as a man

(3) Selzer, M., *The Aryanization of the Jewish State*.

(4) Cf., Stein, pp. 91-92. The notable scholar himself followed the same habit of mind. In a lengthy article celebrating the establishment of the Mandate, he dealt with the future of Palestine extensively, but omitted all mention of the Arab population. (*Jewish Chronicle*, 18 February, 1921).

who takes five (sic) wives and gives a woman to his overnight guest, that he "does not believe that a woman has a soul," that the Arabs eat cats and rats. "Their language, for example, contains 100 words for camel and 99 for woman, but none for murder. There is not a single Arabic word by which one can distinguish between the slaughter of a sheep and the premeditated killing of a man. Under his *abaya* the Arab wears a long, wicked-looking stiletto, . . . generally of poor physique . . . He continues to tend wounds by the application of fresh cow dung; and in the case of eye disease applies bandages soaked in camel's urine."⁵ N. Sokolow adopted a more dignified posture by speaking through "one of the best qualified students of the Eastern question" (without identifying him) to the effect that the Arabs are no more than a "congeries of differing races, creeds, sects and social systems . . . nomadic, predatory barbarians . . ." and the only government which they could manage to produce was of a "purely Bedouin barbaric type."⁶

More affectionate spokesmen dealt with the Palestinians in friendlier terms, as General Dayan did recently:

"I love them. Believe me I love, I just love, I like them. Hard working people. And I used to see them getting up, very early in the morning—3 o'clock in the morning, going to the field with very poor food with them in a basket and then going back home and living this kind of farmer life which I feel very sympathetic to and also as individuals."⁷

In the same breath, he emphasized that there was no question of mixing or integrating with them. It is the stereotyped attitude of any colonial master who may be ready to allow the natives anything except an opinion.

With the creation of Israel, there emerged new facts related to

(5) Ziff, W.B., *The Rape of Palestine*, London, 1948, pp. 334-35.

(6) Sokolow, N., *History of Zionism*, London, 1919, Vol. I, pp. 300-01.

(7) The Frost Programme, Independent Television, London, 23 August, 1968.

the expulsion of the refugees, the seizure of Arab property, the oppression of the Arab minority and the annexation of parts in excess of the land allotted by the United Nations. These facts were presented to the western world in the same fashion. Once the series of distorted pictures are exposed the whole show would vanish. Suppression of the counter argument became, therefore, part of the Zionist propaganda strategy.

The first objective was to deny the Palestinian a collective authoritative voice. As soon as Weizmann reached Palestine at the heel of General Allenby, he spoke against any thought of granting the Palestinians a say in the affairs of their country in view of their political inexperience. The British Government tried on a number of occasions to grant the people a limited Legislative Council but its attempts were vehemently resisted by the Zionist Organisation. The plain-spoken Jabotinsky told the Royal Commission that the Mandate was granted without consulting the Arabs and its ultimate fate should also be determined without consulting them. It was, he affirmed, a matter between imperialism and Zionism and the Arabs had no standing in it.⁸

The only legal media left in the hands of the Palestinians was the press, and the Zionists spared no effort in demanding a curb on the freedom of the Arab press, which was already gagged.⁹ Cables sent in protest against the policies of the Jewish National Home disappeared before reaching their destination at Government House. So misinformed did the Zionists keep Arthur Balfour that he mistook Arab shouts of protest and condemnation during his visits to Palestine and Syria, as expressions of jubilation and approval.¹⁰ His case, nevertheless, was far less tragic than that of

(8) Statement by Jabotinsky.

(9) Peel Report, Cmd. 5479, p. 110: Commenting on the criticism of the Palestine Arab press, the Zionists wrote to Mr. N. Bentwich, "You, the controller of the forces of law, who ought to make the inhabitants tremble with the frown of your brows, are attacked openly and freely, as the pettiest Turkish official was never attacked!" Bentwich, N., *Wanderer Between Two Worlds*, London, 1941, p. 129.

(10) Sykes, C., *Cross Roads to Israel*, London, 1965, p. 96.

Attlee's Labour Government who recognised just a little too late that they had been led up the garden path by their Zionist colleagues and expressed their indignation at the misinformation to which they had been subjected.¹¹

Pro-Arab evidence was likewise suppressed in the United States by the zealous advocates of the Jewish nationalist case. In the fall of 1943, the massive campaign to swing America's foreign policy in a pro-Zionist direction was launched when a group of 500 rabbis presented their demands on 6th October 1943 to Vice President Wallace. A few weeks later, resolutions calling for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine were submitted to both houses of Congress. The Congress referred the resolution to the Committee on Foreign Affairs whose chairman was Sol Bloom, a Zionist. For the instruction and information of the Committee, Sol Bloom submitted literature summarising the Zionist position and including a memorandum of the Jewish Agency. The Arab position, of course, was not presented, but the serious omission was the report of the State Department which was supposed to implement the new policy.¹²

Wagih Ghali, the Egyptian novelist who was the only Arab to visit Israel officially, related that when he was once sitting in an Arab café in Israel and wearing the Palestinian head gear, a group of American tourists started firing questions, through their guide, at the Arabs; "What do you think of Eshkol Government? How do the Israeli soldiers treat you? What kind of life do you live under their rule?" When Wagih's turn came he replied to all the questions in Arabic, "Terrible!" He nearly screamed when the guide translated him every time, "Excellent." The ways and means used by the Zionists in preventing the voice of the Palestinian from being heard are the subject of the next chapters.

(11) Kimche, p. 156.

(12) Taylor, pp. 78-9.

NO BOOKSHELF FOR THE ARAB

As time passed, the Arabs began to produce their own publicists, scholars and writers. Foreign languages ceased to be the monopoly of a few Levantine effendis. The Zionist house of cards had to stand up to the breeze coming from the post-war Arab world. With the virtual domination of the print market, the success of their task in chasing out the counter argument was not problematic.

There are score of books written annually in the Arab World on the Palestine question, and quite a few of them deserve a foreign publication. The Palestine Liberation Organisation Research Centre and the Institute of Palestine Studies are two academic institutions to which Arab scholars of world fame have been recruited in recent years. Their publications have been favourably received by foreign experts and journalists for their reliability and careful documentation. Over a hundred and twenty books and booklets have been so far published by the Palestine Research Centre. A large number of these books were printed in English and other languages but the attempts to find a distributor or even a book shop in the West to handle the publications of the Arab institutions has failed. Foyles, which has a sizeable Arabic department in its large London book store, exhibited some of the publications of the Research Centre for a short period. An article by Maj. General Harbaki in the *Jewish Chronicle* attacked the English book shops of Charing Cross Road which exhibited Arabic "anti-Semitic" publications. Neither Foyles nor any book shop in Charing Cross Road now exhibit the works of the Palestine Research Centre or the Institute of Palestine Studies. Even some University libraries refuse to receive the publications of the two establishments. Needless to say they receive no attention from press or the literary and political periodicals.

The Institute for Palestine Studies, which has so far published about 40 monograph and major works in foreign languages, managed to find one distributor in Oxford, a second in Holland and a third in Sweden. All distributors contacted in the United States apologised for one reason or another and the vicious circle was forged when such publications as Books in Print and the Library Journal rejected the advertisement of the Institute for Palestine Studies insisting that there ought to be a distributor in the United States before the advertisement could be accepted. The one Arab publishing firm for foreign languages, Khayats of Beirut, did not publish any work on Palestine to safeguard its commercial activities against the boycott of western distributors.

Individual Arabs in the West fared no better. Against the masses of books published in Britain and America by Israelis or Zionists since the partition of Palestine, not one book was published for an Arab on the subject, despite the numerous works submitted by Arab authors. Sami Hadawi tried for months to interest anyone in America in his "*Bitter Harvest*," until he was eventually forced to print it in Beirut at his own expense. The book was never distributed in the West.

Muhammad T. Mehdi had to set up a publication firm of his own, the New World Press, in order to produce his three books in the States. He is an admirer of the American way of life and western capitalist values. "*A Nation of Lions Chained*" which deals with American foreign policy and its impact on the Middle East, was submitted to and rejected by 25 publishers on account of its one chapter on Palestine. The Philosophical Library refused even to examine the manuscript, but instead returned Mr. Mehdi's letter with a few words scribbled in red, "Sorry no. The territory the Jews occupy is puny and they work it well. The Arabs have gigantic territories, most of it under mismanagement and selfish rulers."¹ That was a good enough reason to dismiss out of hand the work of an

(1) Reproduced on the book jacket, Mehdi, M.T., *A Nation of Lions Chained*, New World Press, World Trade Centre, Ferry Bldg., San Francisco 11, California.

Arab expatriate in America, an Assistant Professor at the American Academy of Asian Studies.

One Arab work published in the west is King Husayn's important memoirs on the Six-Day War. Mr. Owen, the publisher of the English edition, explained to the press that he, as a Jew, had serious qualms about printing such a book but he found that the Arab leaders were shown in such an unfavourable light in the King's memoirs, that he decided to go ahead.

The present writer, whose position is anything but that of an extremist, had the same problem in London with his manuscript on Zionist expansion. Each time that it was rejected as being "too partial," he indulged in a new process of omission and modification to suit the next publisher until he realised that the manuscript would become totally pro-Zionist before it could interest any publisher. His agent wrote apologising for being unable to help with the book "given the sympathies of most British publishers."

Non-Arab writers who ventured on an anti-Zionist track faced similar problems. Hedley V. Cooke could not publish his book "Israel a Blessing and a Curse" in his country, the United States, and was forced to take it to Britain, but no American distributor would agree to handle the book. Professor John H. Davis, the Commissioner General of UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Work Agency) encountered the same situation and was finally lucky enough to interest John Murray in his work "*The Evasive Peace*." The reputable publishers could not distribute the book in Professor Davis's country despite their repeated attempts. The market was saturated with books on the subject was the excuse of one distributor. Soon, another pro-Zionist work appeared in the same American market. General Sir John Glubb tried in 1948 to publish in New York his first book "*The Story of the Arab Legion*," which was entirely about Jordan save one single reference to Zionism in Palestine. One publishing firm wrote to him that they would have liked to do so, but their colleagues in the publishing business "were strong enough to ruin them." Another firm made an offer to him on

the condition that he would agree to allow them to rewrite the passage on Zionism and Palestine. Following the 1967 War, he wrote "*The Middle East Crisis*" which was published in England but hardly seen in any bookshop. "Whenever a customer asked for it, he was told that it did not exist, or that it was out of print or that the publishers had not released it. . . . After several months the excitement died down, and it became possible to buy the booklet in London."²

Moshe Menuhin, an anti-Zionist Jew, had even worse difficulties with "*The Decadence of Judaism in our Time*," which was privately published at the author's expense. In a very revealing article published by *Issues*, Mr. Menuhin told the long saga of the book. The author, a man in his seventies and in frail health, gave a splendid example of how determination and sheer personal will can actually bring the whole gigantic steamroller of the Zionist information media to a halt. He managed eventually to sell every copy of his book and set the whole United States talking about it. He was in Palestine as a young Zionist himself, studied politics in the States and lived with American Jewry. He was not ignorant of Zionist pressure:

"But I still was not prepared for what did happen: in a very short space of time after the publication of my book, a nation-wide assault—invisible, underground and highly organised— stopped my book in its tracks, stifled every move I made and left me isolated, crushed and my character assassinated in the American Jewish sphere. It was this milieu which I had hoped to help by exposing the descent of Judaism, its decadence in our time, through the suppression of its spiritual, ethical and prophetic ideals . . ."³

Mr. Menuhin was literally persecuted by the B'nai B'rith activists who are known in the United States for their treatment of anti-Zionist opponents. The book was publicly burnt and the stands which exhibited it were attacked. Such activities are carried out in

(2) Glubb to the writer.

(3) *Issues*, Summer 1966.

the United States under the ironic name of the B'nai B'rith "Anti-Defamation League." With the "*Decadence of Judaism in our Time*" out of print, the author tried to get a second edition on the market, but the publishers, already under extreme Zionist pressure, refused to act, in breach of their contract. Mr. Menuhin's solicitors took up the matter but they could do nothing short of bringing the matter to court.⁴

In an interview given by Ania Francos to *al-Jumburia* of Cairo, the young French writer depicted a similar picture of the persecution to which she was subjected in France on account of her book "*The Palestinians*." The treatment was meted out even to her mother who received telephone calls threatening death to Ania.⁵ One additional feature which she mentioned was the fact that "*The Palestinians*" was the one book of her many books which remained for a considerable time ignored by the reviewers and buried in an abyss of silence.

The full picture of the Zionist steam roller emerges as one of a multi-phase mechanism. The undesirable work is first denied access to the publishing world. Yet, the market is not hermetically sealed. There are no figures on the subject, but the leading publishing of Curtis Brown put to the writer, the proportion of publishing firms in gentile hands in Britain as 20 percent. Here and there, the Arab case may penetrate through a small firm, a brave publisher or somebody who happens to have no experience of the Zionist suppression apparatus. Alan R. Taylor, for example, managed to have "*Prelude to Israel—An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy*" accepted by one of the smaller firms in London, Darton, Longman & Todd. Phase II started then by blocking distribution and publicity. "*Prelude to Israel*" was hardly seen in any bookshop and none of the mass dailies or weeklies in the United Kingdom, and presumably elsewhere, reviewed the book. The publishers had no option but to cut their losses and discontinue publishing the book.

(4) Menuhin to the writer.

(5) *Al-Jumburia*, 6 April 1969.

The *Daily Telegraph* was the only daily in the United Kingdom which carried a notice on John Murray's publication, "*The Evasive Peace*," which experienced similar difficulties in distribution and sale. Maxime Rodinson's "*The Arabs and Israel*" was also ignored by the British national dailies, despite the eminent position which Rodinson holds as one of the world's prominent orientalisks and experts on Middle Eastern affairs. The *Times Literary Supplement* carried a notice on the French edition without a reference to the English edition. Of all the works published by Penguin, this was the one book which was hardest to see on most book stalls.

Moshe Menuhin mentioned in his article, cited above, that his attempts to have his book reviewed by a section of the press were frustrated by one method or another. Some of the copies which he had sent to the editors of America's leading journals and newspapers, he discovered, were simply confiscated before reaching their destination. The books which are written by Arabs and published privately or through Arab organisations are totally ignored, except for the odd mention in the specialist publications. America's book reviewing on the Middle East is monopolised by such pro-Zionist Jews as Hal Lehrman, Walter Z. Laqueur, D.A. Schmidt and J. Hurewitz.

In contrast to this treatment, and whilst Menuhin's book on the Jews was not even mentioned by any English newspaper other than the *Jewish Chronicle*, Litvinoff's book on the Jews, "*A Peculiar People*" was given two instalments covering the entire front page of the *Observer* Supplement on two successive Sundays—a treatment which is usually reserved for the most revealing and far reaching memoirs of world personalities.

The voluminous and sensational report of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, which exposed the Zionist misuse of charity funds contributed by Americans, in the effort to control the minds of the Americans, was effectively smothered. Only the Columbia Broadcasting System featured the Report. Mr. Reasoner, the leading correspondent of the network, commented in a symposium

sium on Reporting Controversial Issues, "I didn't know we were the only network and I don't know what the study was. That is just ignorance and I'm sorry."⁶

Somehow, a smaller number—just one or two—of the published anti-Zionist works manage to attract attention and achieve a circulation, often because of a tactical fault on the part of the Zionists themselves whose ultra zeal is undoubtedly their Achilles Heel. Their attack on the Arab students who exhibited a copy of Menuhin's book snowballed into a nation-wide controversy which aroused the curiosity of the otherwise indifferent American and caused a boom in the demand for the book.

The vicious attacks on Francos's "*The Palestinians*" in the isolated Jewish press of France led to counter attacks, and the clash poured over the national press commanding the attention of the public. This is the time of Phase III when the demons of torment are unleashed to plague the offender with abuse, intimidation, threats, boycott and economic pressure.

The operation does not seem to be merely the result of individual enthusiasm. The funds allocated to the Zionist information media under such heading as "monitoring," "counter-acting," "influencing," and the political directives overhead on the pages of the Zionist press and reports leave us with a justifiable conviction that such campaigns are organised and well-paid operations. The Report of the Department of Information in America, which received \$750,000 during the Palestine partition year, detailed some of its work: "When a book like "*A Nation of Lions Chained*" by Mehdi appears which attacks Israel and American Jewry savagely, we bring the book to the attention of our local councils, to the Jewish Community Councils and other friends throughout the country . . ." Among the tasks carried out by the Committee is "the monitoring and counter-action of all activities carried out by the Arabs, American friends of the Middle East and other hostile groups."⁷ The Report of the American

(6) *Issues*, Spring 1965.

(7) Hearing of the U.S. Senate Committee, pp. 1345 and 1339-40.

Christian Palestine Committee for October 1958 gave samples of the pressure put on the church, "Also a special letter was sent to Bishop (deleted) of (deleted) expressing both amazement and regret that he became associated with the (deleted) manuscript . . . copies of my letters to Bishop (deleted) and Bishop (deleted) in the hope that they, too, might encourage (deleted) to withdraw his support from the (deleted) letter and materials."⁸ The January Report spoke of the pressure put on American pro-Arab priests to make them desert their pro-Palestine cause. The language of the Zionist press notices on hostile works has its own evocative message to the faithful, a message which sometimes becomes an open call for direct counter-action.

Yet, it would be an adverse manifestation of self-pity on the part of the Arabs to believe that the long lists of pro-Zionist books published every year, against the one or two pro-Palestine books are *totally* the result of Zionist control, or even influence. The observer will be nearer to the truth by keeping in sight the series of unfortunate positions in which the Palestinians found themselves. The Israelis have occupied the land and embarked on a crash programme to consolidate their *fait accompli* by changing the old scenery of the Holy Land. Their work looks naturally constructive, remunerative and, at least, positive. They need no crying out and give no irksome shrieks. The less said or written about the case is better for them. On the other hand, the kicked-out Palestinians have nothing to show except their UNRWA tents. The pro-Arab writer is forced into the negative role of doing nothing but attack other people, insinuate and dwell on mournful lamentations. His visit is consequently less of a pleasure to a publishing agent than the visitor with his manuscript on "making the desert bloom," truly or falsely—for the world is more interested in watching action than in listening to pleading. Sir Geoffry Furlonge's biography of Musa al-Alami, "Palestine is my country" had none of those difficulties in getting published, and the book received favourable notices in the press.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 1299.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation, Fatah and the entire Arab resistance movement, having taken up arms and moved to the front lines of the conflict, began to attract the interest of the international press, so much so that even the *Daily Telegraph* dedicated one of its weekly colour supplements in the spring of 1969 to the armed struggle of the Palestinian fighter. The fact leaves us with a sad submission to the voice of violence that London and Washington can only understand the language of the gun.

THE CASE IN THE PRESS

The treatment of the Palestine issues by the western press follows the same pattern expected from the given facts of the situation, basically the preponderant Zionist representation, the slavery of the advertising agent, the general anti-Arab milieu and the fear of Zionist intimidation. There is hardly any Arab working with the newspapers and periodicals of the western states whose Middle East news reporting provides a fair picture of the imbalance. Whilst we hear of no Arab acting as a Middle East reporter for any western paper or broadcasting system, we find the majority of the foreign correspondents in Israel either Zionist Jews or Israelis. The BBC man in Tel Aviv is the fervent Zionist, Michael Elkins, whose very tone and diction are sufficiently indicative of his position. The BBC has another man in the person of Jon Kimche, whose association with the extremists of Israeli expansion is well known. Kimche's reports and articles in the London evening papers seem to have boomeranged lately as no informed person takes them seriously any more. *The Times* relies on Moshe Brilliant and David Spanier for its reports on Israel, the *Daily Telegraph* on Maier Asher and the *Guardian's* frequent contributor on the Palestine scene is Walter Schwartz. Some dispatches of these correspondents are, in fact, no more than a paraphrase of the official statements given by the Israeli information department. Through their pens, the Times wrote of the Palestinian fida'iyyin as "terrorist gangs" and the Egyptian aircraft as "enemy aircraft."¹ The active Arab nationalists were usually called "Nasir's thugs."

(1) *Times*, 28 May 1969, 22 May 1969. Only the quality publications generally more objective and sympathetic to the other man's point of view, are dealt with in the present work; the yellow press and mass circulation dailies need no treatment.

On the receiving end, television and radio news items on the Middle East are frequently edited by the Zionist monitoring and counter-acting pressure groups as reflected in the weekly reports of the *Jewish Chronicle*. The Israeli Embassies often act off their own bat and actuate the news editors to omit or modify the reports of the radio correspondents in view of the *facts* which *they knew*. The position is that the pro-Arab version must be proved or else withdrawn. Paul Martin of the *Times*, after a call from the Israeli Embassy in London, was given a few hours to substantiate his report on a Jerusalem bomb explosion, or recant. No evidence is requested for the Israeli stories. The inaccuracy of some Arab reporting and the traditional colonialist attitude towards the natives of Afro-Asia did not make matters better for the Arab side. The ignorance of most journalists and editors on Zionism, Judaism, Islam and the Middle East in general makes the call over the telephone all the more effective to the ear of the overworked editor. The CBS correspondent already mentioned made that ignorance on the subject a good reason for shunning the field altogether.

Taking the Six-Day War as his field for studying the reactions of the American press toward the Middle East, Michael W. Suleiman examined the treatment of the crisis by America's seven leading organs: the *New York Times*, *Life*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *The Nation*, *New Republic*, *Newsweek* and *Time*.² He found that 36.1 per cent of all the news items dealing with the Middle East during May and June 1967 were pro-Israel, 3.8 per cent pro-U.S.A., 2.3 per cent pro-U.N. and 0.8 pro-Arab. The picture slightly improved as the subject moved to the columns of the editorials, which the average reader does not read. Only 20 per cent were pro-Israel against 15 per cent pro-U.S.A. and 10 per cent pro-U.N. The sharper slanted attitude in news coverage is explained by a further table which identifies the origin of the published material:

(2) Michael W. Suleiman, *The Mass Media and the June War*, in *Essays on the American Public Opinion and the Palestine Problem* (Palestine Monographs No. 53, P.L.O. Research Center, Beirut, 1969).

ITEM PERCENTAGE OF ORIGIN OF MATERIAL ON MIDDLE EAST*
MAY-JUNE, 1967

Name of Magazine	The U.A.R.	Jordan	Syria	Lebanon	Europe	U.S.A. or no Source	U.N.	Israel	Total Number of Items
N.Y. Times	3.9	0	0	0	0	90.2	0	3.9	26
Life	15.4	7.7	0	0	0	77	7.7	46.1	13
U.S. News & World Report	2.3	2.3	0	11.6	16.3	31.8	0	16.3	43
The Nation	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	5
New Republic	0	0	0	16.6	0	50	16.6	16.6	6
Time	20	10	0	0	10	80	30	40	10
Average %	5.8	2.9	0	5.8	7.8	66	4.9	18.4	103

* Except for the column on the extreme right and the bottom row, all numbers indicate the percentage (in number of items) of press coverage originating from or written about the particular country or are. If added horizontally, total exceeds 100 per cent because some reports supposedly originated in more than one country.

This anomalous position was echoed in Britain and prompted the Arab staff of the BBC Arabic service to raise the matter during the war and threaten to strike. The answer was promptly given, as it was given elsewhere and on many other occasions, that there was no other source of news from the stage of the fighting. This is *partly* true and the Arabs have to face reality and take their share of the blame. The same table given above shows another significant indication, as we read that 5.8 per cent of the news had its origin in Lebanon, 5.8 per cent in the U.A.R., 2.9 per cent in Jordan and 0.0 per cent in Syria. The accepted inexperience of the Arabs in information and their limited knowledge of military things left the censor with no choice but to play safe and use his red ink all too frequently. The political upheavals of the Arab world and its suspicion of the West had, of course, their effect on the visiting foreign correspondent. But to attribute the whole pro-Israel news position to such causes is avoiding the issue.

The wide gap in the treatment of the 1967 crisis resulted in the widespread misunderstanding of its nature. One of the far reach-

ing omissions in that treatment was the fact that the Arabs were not poised to attack Israel in 1967, but that it was the Israeli Government which was looking for the opportunity to smash their enemies and seize territory. This is a fact recognised in most countries, including Israel itself, and admitted by its Chief of Staff, General Rabin.³ Yet, I have not seen any English newspaper which has put the record straight. Miss V. Atkinson of the Jerusalem Committee, wrote to the *Observer* referring to this fact and its serious omission. Instead of publishing her remarks, the Editor replied privately telling her that, "The Arabs are not without means to make their case and their views known in this country,"⁴ and left this very elementary part of the case still unknown in the country.

Arab writers, diplomats and post-graduates tell long, frustrating stories of their attempts to have their letters and comments published. Arnold Wesker was allowed by the *Times* to level attacks at the Arabs and challenge his fellow writers among them, but when an Arab drama lecturer answered the challenge, his reply was given no chance. Another Arab intellectual, Dr. I. Zayid, had to answer him privately and the private correspondence was eventually carried, not by the *Times* which initiated the challenge seen by its potential readership of over two million people, but by *Free Palestine* which could hardly reach more than a few hundred Englishmen at best.⁵

Editors seem to follow a thought-out procedure in giving the Zionist case an edge over its opposite case, not only by publishing more anti-Arab than anti-Israeli letters, (A. Lilienthal put the ratio at 10:1 in favour of Israel) but also by giving the Zionist apologist the last word in the controversy. The procedure can be detected almost always in television documentaries, letters to the editor and commissioned articles. During the first half of 1969, *New Outlook* and the *Times* carried sets of two consecutive articles commissioned together, and the *Daily Express* published a series of dispatches by

(3) Cf. *Bamachane*, 12 June 1967.

(4) Correspondence shown to the writer.

(5) *Free Palestine*, February 1969.

Katherine Hadley from Jordan and Israel, in which the Israeli version was, in every case, given the last word.⁶

The reply to the charge of partiality is that the press is only a mirror reflecting the feelings and views of the public, a much disputed claim in itself. As the Zionist case has succeeded in attracting the sympathy of the public, regardless of the hows and wherefores, the journalists are placed in the position of having to echo this sympathy. Nothing succeeds like success is, after all, the golden rule of capitalist society. Notwithstanding the journalists' falling back on the rules of liberal democracy, we find a good instance here illustrating how this sympathy of the public is, in fact, no more genuine than the synthetic cream of any mass produced ice cream.⁷ The general public in Britain may have more sympathy with Israel than with the Palestinians. But it is questionable that they have at the same time overwhelmingly more sympathy for an Arab Jew hanged in Iraq for espionage than for an Arab Christian or an Arab Muslim hanged in the same place, at the same time, on the same charge. Yet the contrast in the press treatment cannot but pull the carpet from underneath the democratic argument. The Iraqi Government hanged 36 people on espionage charges between January and May 1969 in four batches of executions. Only the January group, which included Jews, aroused the outcry of the press. Nearly all the newspapers put the report on the front pages with screaming headlines, published half page pictures of the hangings and wrote fiery editorials on the subject. The *Times*, 'that respectable and balanced paper,' spent about 4,600 of its precious words on the event distributed as follows:

(6) *New Outlook*, April 1969, *Times* 26 March, *Daily Express* 18 May 1969 (first articles).

(7) The allegation of reflecting the general opinion is denied even by such necessarily opinionated standards as the Gallup Poll which revealed that, according to the survey of 24 July 1968, carried out in America, 41 percent of those who answered the questionnaire had no idea of the origin of the Six-Day War, 59 percent opposed the supply of arms to Israel, 61 percent wanted the U.S. Government to keep out of any eventual Arab-Israeli war, and 79 percent opposed the dispatch of U.S. troops to the scene.

28 January: Lengthy article on the front page, a long inside story on page 8, Editorial under the heading "The Baghdad Atrocity."
 29 January: Long article on page 9, large picture of the executions inside, three pictures of vigil on the back page.
 30 January: Reports on front page.
 31 January: News report on front page.

The February group, which did not include Jews, received no more than one brief report of 100 words from the same paper. If we take the two figures as a guidance, there is a partiality ratio of 46:1. The *Times* carried the letter written by the present writer in condemnation of the January executions, but his letter on the second group was simply "noted carefully" by the Editor. During the same period, 31 Tunisian intellectuals and university lecturers were sentenced to prison for giving active and militant support to the Palestinian cause. Apart from *Black Dwarf* and *Peace News*, two British left wing weeklies, not one newspaper in the United Kingdom gave a mention to the news. The *Times* ignored the letter sent to it on the subject. The *Peace News* article commented: "But it is not only Tunisia's liberalism which is in question. It is the hypocrisy of the imperialist world which glares in our eyes. Many were the crocodile tears which were shed in the West over the prisoners of Baghdad and Damascus. Yet, vain was my attempt to find one single word in the British press . . . on Bourguiba's prisoners."⁸ From inside Israel, *Matzpen*, of the Israeli Socialist Organisation, contrasted the hypocrisy of the outcry with the silence over Israel's misdeeds. "The method of collective punishment and punitive house demolition in the occupied territories, etc., all that, of course, is very civilised."⁹

Another case of obvious double standard is the press treatment of the air raids on civilian villages, the strafing of peaceful traffic and the use of napalm. The Israeli air force has been in daily violation of Jordan's air space and frequently bombing Arab traffic and

(8) *Peace News*, 21 March 1969.

(9) *Matzpen*, March 1969.

rural villages since June 1967, without any of the storm and outcry which sent Mr. Wilson post haste to Nigeria to curb the activities of its air force within its own sovereign territory and against its own rebellious faction. The Arabs find it difficult to understand the world wide protest and revulsion against the American use of napalm in Vietnam and the silence over the Israeli use of napalm against the Palestinians, proved and supported by eye witnesses and photographic documentation. The Israeli raids on Arab townships are usually described, when they become too obnoxious, as mistakes, miscalculations, pointless, or, as in the case of the Beirut Airport, an "overkill."

The anti-Arab position is buttressed by two bogies, carefully created over the years. The first is that of Nasirism, a blood curdling cruelty, a police tyranny, a political thuggery, a sly subversion, which is behind all the instability in the Middle East. The second one is that of communist manipulation which is supplying the fida'yin and the anti-Western Arab nationalists with cash and arms to keep the problem on the boil and destroy the positions of the "Free World" in the area.¹⁰ It is in the service of such bogies that we often read the insidious phrase "Russian built" rockets and arms in the reports on the fida'yin raids. Suleiman's report deals with the factors of the Arab position mentioned by the seven American organs during the period of the report, and gives the following breakdown:

	<i>Number of Times Mentioned</i>
Arab refugees	66
Arab concern for peace and security	3
Israeli mistreatment of Arabs	58
Arab anti-west feeling	52
Connections with the Soviets	163

Before Nasir's arms transaction with Czechoslovakia in 1955,

(10) Lilienthal gives an account of the American press portrayal of Nasir as a communist agent in his *Other Side of the Coin*, pp. 114-116. His chapter on "The New York Times, et al," is worth reading, re press anti-Arab partiality.

the two red herrings had their exact equivalents in the Mufti and Nazi manipulation. The notorious history-fabricating film "*Exodus*" gave the Palestinian mujahidin of 1948 the name of "Arab Storm Troopers" and showed a close-up of a swastika with one of the Palestinian dead. Chaim Weizmann went as far as comparing the 1936 Arab Revolt in Palestine as the counterpart of Franco's civil war in Spain, two creatures of "Axis encouragement and Axis money."¹¹ The fact that it was the Jewish Agency which concluded an agreement with Hitler for the financial provision of the Jewish National Home from Germany, that the Nazis were negotiating with the powers, and particularly Britain, how best could a national home for the Jews be built, that Jabotinsky negotiated with Mussolini's Government the supply of Italian arms to the Zionists and that the Jewish Agency had secret talks with the Nazis during the war for the immigration of certain number of Jews to Palestine in return for lorries and in recognition of Jewish Agency help, as revealed in the famous Kastner trial, in liquidating the European Jewry in the gas chambers, are the facts which hardly receive any mention anywhere. Before the rise of Nazism, the Zionists had yet another bogey in what they used to call the "conspiracy" of France. In a long speech delivered on 15 September 1919, Israel Zangwill dealt with the opposition of the Arabs and attributed the phenomenon to the "Franco-Catholic intrigue."¹² Meinertzhagen referred to the "irrefutable" evidence of French instigations in Palestine.

The realistic background to this mythology is the denial of the existence of such a thing as the Palestinian, and if the thing moved and showed any sign of life, then it must be the magic of another tribe or the work of a wicked spirit. With the increased effort of the Soviet Union to reach a peaceful solution for the problem, the press started to switch over to the new myth of the Chinese red dragon. The fact that Nazism had gone and Sovietism is going, that many regimes and systems have come and gone in the Arab world and that the resistance to the Zionist presence has proved to

(11) Weizmann, p. 470.

(12) *Zionist Bulletin*, 16 September 1919.

be the only well anchored element in the field, is the one fact which the information media refuse to admit.

Despairing of reaching the western public, Arab scholars and professors collected money and bought advertisements in the *Times* and the *Guardian* condemning the Israeli atrocities in the occupied territories. Complaints were lodged at the Press Council against the advertisements, and the advertisers were called upon to prove the validity of the charges. The *Times* Editor showed that he was in possession of sufficient "evidence submitted to provide a clear *prima facie* case." The clients had to fly documentation to London to back up their claims and the Press Council, consequently, rejected the complaints.¹³ But no further advertisement appeared for the Arabs for nearly a year.

On the second anniversary of the Six-Day War, the Anglo-Jordan Alliance published an advertisement in the *Times*, including two lines from Shelley's *Rosalind and Helen*: Fear not the tyrants shall rule forever, or the priests of the bloody faith. The advertisement raised the usual outcry and letters to the Editor, drawing particular attention to the words "bloody faith." The *Times* apologised for overlooking the matter without any attempt to explain the various meanings of "faith" or that the advertisers, some of whom are Members of Parliament, did not have the religious meaning in their mind.¹⁴ It is important here to contrast this position with the insult and lies heaped on Islam, Muslims and Arabs on the pages of books, periodicals and papers¹⁵ without answer or apology.

On 25 June 1969, the Arab League bought four pages in the *Times* and dedicated them as a Supplement on Palestine, with articles written by experts on the problem. The usual practice followed in political advertisements, once passed for publication, is to mention the fact and leave the rest to the reader. In this particular case, the

(13) *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 December, *Times*, 8 December, *Guardian*, 9 December 1968.

(14) *Times*, 5 and 7 June 1969.

(15) Cf. for e.g., pp. 24-26, 48-49.

Times decided to add the warning that the paper dissociated itself from the facts or opinions expressed in the Supplement. The departure could be a turn for the better if the paper, and the press in general, followed the same practice when carrying cigarette advertisements, for example, by giving a similar warning against such a phrase as "It does you good!" The *Times*, however, was still not very satisfied with the warning and went further and made history by writing an article refuting its own advertisement, which it carried simultaneously. Even the ethical foundations of the stock exchange world were abandoned when it came to the question of Palestine. The contributors to the Supplement wrote a letter which is worth quoting in full:

Sir,

As contributors to the supplement on Palestine which you publish today, we would like to make the following points:

1. You introduce the supplement by stating, with exceptional emphasis, that it constitutes a political advertisement sponsored by the Arab League and that the *Times* disclaims any responsibility for the facts or opinions expressed.

2. In a leading article you go further, describing the supplement as "extremely partisan" and categorizing the contributors to it as "people in Britain who strongly sympathize with the Arab cause." The supplement, you add (in terms which Pontius Pilate would surely have approved) "is certainly not the sort of publication that is helpful."

3. The ethics of this procedure are interesting. You have accepted money in return for the publication of a series of articles which you are at pains to denigrate—on the ground that their authors express a point of view, and ignoring the fact that these authors are accepted authorities on the subject under discussion.

4. It is also interesting that you recently published a comparable supplement on Israel on your own initiative. The contri-

butors to it were equally "partisan," although few of them could be described as authorities on the politics of the Middle East. Yet you saw no reason to comment in any way on their right to express their views or on the "helpfulness" of their contribution.

5. The fact is that if newspapers like the *Times* were willing to give equal weight to the arguments of both sides to the Middle East controversy it would not be necessary for the Arab League or anyone else to pay to advertise the views of acknowledged experts in this field.

6. You also publish on the front page of today's issue a dispatch from your correspondent in Israel. This correspondent is, we understand, an Israeli citizen. Is he then less "extremely partisan" than ourselves, and do you consider the publication of his opinions to be necessarily more "helpful" than ours? If so, why?

Yours faithfully,
IAN GILMOUR.
CHRISTOPHER MAYHEW.
B. AQL.
GEOFFREY FURLONGE.
MICHAEL ADAMS.
ANTHONY NUTTING.

The effective presence of Zionist cadres in the press and broadcasting is not the only factor affecting the representation of the full picture. Economic pressure is probably more compelling in the calculation of any newspaper. The Arabs have absolutely no weight in this field, as they are neither advertisers nor readers. The only conduit they may be able to command in this regard is through their oil client companies, but no thought was given to the subject. The use of this weapon in influencing the press has a recent instalment in the case of the *Guardian*. The paper was preparing a special supplement on the Middle East in the summer of 1967. The Six-Day War came and spotlighted the more liberal position of the

Guardian as a newspaper which was not blind to the actual situation in the Middle East. The *Jewish Chronicle* continued to attack it in almost every issue and top level representation and pressure was applied to silence it. The Advertising department received the telephone message that Marks and Spencer were no longer interested in buying the substantial space for their advertisements in the supplement, and the *Guardian* had to cancel its issue with all the work that had gone into it. Michael Adams, who sent four dispatches to the paper from the Middle East, could not have his fourth dispatch carried by the paper, and they had no further need for his services.¹⁶

The *New York Times*, which opposed the partition of Palestine, was the target of a virtual economic boycott whose details are now tucked away in a guarded secret file in the possession of its non-Zionist Jewish editor, Mr. Arthur Hayes Sulzberger, who prefers not to talk about "the frightening experience." During his ordeal, however, he did talk and lash out at "the coercive methods of Zionists who in this country have not hesitated to use economic means to silence persons who have different views."¹⁷

"The economic recriminations from Jewish advertisers," observed A. Lilienthal, "combined with the fact that the fatal label of 'anti-Semite' would be pinned on any editor stepping out of line, assured fullest press cooperation."¹⁸ The truth of these words was recently revealed in a different story outside the context of Arab-Israeli conflict. A Slaughter of Animals Bill, which interfered with the ritual slaughter of animals by Jews and Muslims in the United Kingdom, was presented unsuccessfully to the House of Commons. The Council of Justice to Animals circulated a letter to its members following the defeat of the Bill, dealing with the "unfair pressure put on M.P.'s and newspapers' editors" at the time. Anything related to animals is a subject which invariably occupies the best columns

(16) Information to the writer.

(17) Cited in Lilienthal, *What Price Israel*, p. 124.

(18) Lilienthal, *What Price Israel*, p. 123.

in the English press. This parliamentary Bill, however, was completely ignored, save for brief mentions—a fact which demolishes the story of the democratic press reflecting the opinions and the feelings of the people. The General Secretary of the Council stated, "The national press did practically nothing. We were told they were reluctant to do anything in the matter."¹⁹ The Palestinians, who have no animal councils to support them, cannot be expected to fare better.

The same position emerges in regard to readership. The majority of the Jews are middle class, and make up an important section of the potential consumers. They are, therefore, the target of the advertiser as well, and the paper they read is the paper he seeks. With that situation in mind, Ben Azai must have made his indirect appeal to boycott the *Guardian* following its comment that Arab fears over Israeli expansion proved justifiable. "I shall have to stop taking the *Guardian*," he wrote.²⁰

The Council for the Advancement of British Arab Understanding (CAABU) was unable to find a worthwhile public relations firm to handle the Arab case in the United Kingdom. A tentative agreement was reached, in 1968, between CAABU and Billy Hamilton Promotions, and the arrangements were made for the work to commence—but the firm soon backed out of the agreement in deference to its wider business interests. The Arab League's Public Relations firm of Michael Rice & Company was threatened with the blowing up of their offices, and an unsuccessful attempt to persuade one of their suppliers to boycott the firm was brought to their attention.²¹

The direct financial control of the fringe publications is another subject which is only partly delineated. Apart from the direct organs of the Zionist Movement, like the *Zionist Review* and its successor,

(19) *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 January 1969.

(20) *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 September 1967.

(21) Michael Rice to the writer.

the *Jewish Observer* and the *Middle East*, the *Zionist Record*, *Palestine*, *New Judea*, *Die Welt*, *Judische Rundschau* and the scores of periodicals in most countries, there have been those papers controlled by the WZO by its annual subsidies and personal allowances to editors. The classic example already mentioned is Nevlin's *Correspondence de l'East*. The investigations of the Fullbright Committee threw some light on the dark side of the influence exercised over some American periodicals specialising in the Middle East. The Editor of the *Middle East Affairs*, Mr. Schwadron, for example, used to receive \$4,000 a month from Zionist sources. The Chairman of the Senate Committee pressed Mr. Hamlin, the Zionist witness, to explain why and how Mr. Schwadron received his subvention. The baffling net of the "maze of the overlapping and interlocking directorates" was thrown at him: "Sir, the truth about this request for payment is that it was made through the American Zionist Council. The American Zionist Council, in turn, contributed to the Louis Rabinowitz Foundation, which had the basic relationship with . . ." ²²

In the accounts of the Executive Director, there appears a quarterly payment of \$5,000 to Mr. I.L. Kerr, the owner of the *Near East Report*, "for public services rendered." The chairman could not get an answer from Mr. Hammer of the American Zionist Council to specify these services rendered. "No, whether it was for one particular item of services or whether it was for subscription to the bulletin, I would not know sir." ²³ A statement prepared by the A.Z.C. said that no direct payments were made by the Jewish Agency—American Section Inc. to the Editor of the *Near East Report*, through the American Zionist Council, but, and at the request of the Jewish Agency—American Section Inc., the Jewish Agency for Israel Inc. made available to the American Zionist Council for the account of the Jewish Agency—American Section Inc. an annual sum of \$38,000 as a subvention to the Editor. "Honestly Mr. Hamlin," said the

(22) Hearing of the U.S. Senate Committee, p. 1314.

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 1252.

Chairman of the Senate Committee, "I find extremely difficult to follow this . . . I would like to ask you why did you not pay the \$38,000 directly to Mr. Kenen. Why do you go through all this rigmarole . . . If you can make this record clear you are a genius far beyond anyone I have ever met anywhere . . ."

LURE AND PRESSURE

Yet another form of economic pressure is used against the academic institutions and research centres of America, where much depends on commercial and non-governmental finance. This is done through a number of organisations like the Herzl Foundation, the Council on Middle Eastern Affairs, the American Association for Middle Eastern Studies, the American Christian Palestine Committee, the Inter-University Committee on Israel, the Hillel Foundation, the Hebrew Culture Foundation, and, after the Six-Day War, the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East. These organisations offer scholarships to universities, and grants for research and the setting up of Middle Eastern seminars.

Behind these front organisations are the vast resources of the WZO. The Budget of the Information and Public Relations Department for 1961/62 reached \$328,550, including \$72,700 for the Speakers Bureau, \$65,200 for research and press services, \$67,000 for seminars on the Middle East, and \$53,000 for periodicals, films, radio and television. In addition, the Herzl Foundation received \$211,326, the Youth Department \$306,610, the Department of Education and Culture \$161,675 and the Council on Middle East Affairs \$23,000 (1960/61). The Israeli Government subsidises some of the work directly. The Jewish Agency, for example, received between \$10,000 and \$15,000 for just mailing the Israeli Digest to names furnished by the Israeli consulate. Behind the official allocations lie the even larger sources of the individual Zionist sympathisers, the Rothschilds, the Wolfsons, etc.

The massive financial pressure is not simply used in the legitimate propaganda process of creating a favourable image for Israel

and Zionism, but also in the suppression of the Arab voice in the United States. The most obvious method employed towards the latter aim of silencing the anti-Zionist critic in the campus is the withdrawal of "financial support from educational institutions."¹ The Hearing of the Senate Committee identified some of the Universities which received such financial support as Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, John Hopkins and Wisconsin. The same Jewish writer goes on to relate:

"The President of a university recently told me that the Israeli consular general came to see him to protest an Arab student association art exhibit at the university. Without having seen the exhibit, he threatened the president with picketing and loss of contribution, charging that such an exhibit was 'an insult to your Jewish students.' The president refused permission for me to identify him because he fears the loss of contribution."²

Activities among the clerical are conducted through the organisation with the innocent name "the American Christian Palestine Committee" (ACPC). The Committee, like all the other front organisations, publishes its own newsletter, and takes potentially useful personalities on lavish tours to Israel. The monthly reports of the ACPC speak of a memorandum sent to the leaders across the country to counteract any pro-Arab material produced by the National Council of Churches, and the distribution among the negro community of an article on slavery in Saudi Arabia. The reports reveal the origins of such image-forming and anti-Arab articles frequently seen in the western press:

"We are now working on an article about the colour problem and slavery in Arab lands which may be placed, we hope, in some outstanding Negro publication like (deleted). The basic draft has been prepared by the representative of the American Jewish Congress

(1) Zionist influence on American Higher Education, Baum, B.H., in *Issues*, Autumn 1965.

(2) *Ibid.*

in Europe who resides in (deleted).”³ Of the bizarre items in the propaganda of this Zionist Jewish organisation is a special prayer for Israel prepared for American Christians.

The economic pressure on the individual is perhaps more common, though less easy to establish. When General Glubb was going to the States, he employed an agent who wrote to him before leaving England asking “if I would make a statement in favour of Israel to a press conference at the airport in New York. The statement would be written out for me without consulting me. The agent said that, if I agreed, I should make a lot of money and would be engaged by all the rich clubs. If I refused, Jewish agencies would do their best to prevent my speaking and I should get only a few engagements.”⁴ The writer or commentator simply finds his contributions “no longer needed,” or becoming unpopular, controversial or partisan. Most apologists of the Arab case encounter such an ebb in their fortunes. Nor is this limited to the gentile apologist. Mr. M. Menuhin relates that half of the rabbis who originally sponsored the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism withdrew only one month after its incorporation because of “ruthless pressure” put on them.⁵ One often encounters such Jews who express, in private, their horror at the work of the WZO but dare not abstain from attending its fund raising dinners. The Joint Statement published by the Israeli Socialist Organisation and the Palestine Democratic Front as an advertisement in the *Times* on 8 June 1967 was paid for by such an anti-Zionist Jew whose main concern was to keep his identity unknown to the Jewish community. The few hundred pounds were delivered in cash.

Most of the active members of the Israeli Socialist Organisation (Matzpen) suffer discrimination and persecution which prompts some of them to leave Israel. The signatories to the proclamation “The Suppression of Human Rights Must Cease in Israel and the

(3) Hearing of the U.S. Senate Committee.

(4) Glubb to the writer.

(5) Menuhin, p. 354.

Occupied Territories," smuggled out of Israel and published by *Le Monde* and *Pravda* were subjected to extreme pressure. Three people, including the sculptor Ytzhak Dantziger were forced to withdraw. Ylan Shliff, member of the Kibbutz Negba, was given the choice of either quitting or giving an undertaking not to engage in politics. He was eventually driven out penniless.⁶ Dr. Michael Levy, Senior lecturer in social science at the University of Tel Aviv, was simply sacked for expressing opinions criticising the atrocities committed against the Palestinians. The reporter of the *Jewish Chronicle* mentioned that the dismissal was "due to pressure by American contributors to University funds."⁷

Economic intimidation is the natural method applied inside Israel, the world's freest police state as Michael Salzer called it, to suppress the Palestinian case. This has been possible, and very effective, because of the artificial structure of Israel. All the leading newspapers depend on the financial backing of the political parties which they represent and which, in turn, depend on the shares of funds distributed to them by the Zionist Organisation. The Israeli Government and the Zionist Organisation hold, therefore, the strings to which these papers are tied. They may be allowed to deal with any aspect, smear any public figure and even expose regrettable military secrets, provided that they never touch the unforgivable case of the Palestinian. That is how Fauzi al-Asmar mentioned in *Abereth* that the newspapers often changed the poems written by Arabs, although the censor had himself passed them.⁸ The rebellious elements are usually silenced, first by bribing them with good jobs and privileges and then by threatening them with dismissal if they dare open their mouths. Many Arabs and oriental Jews have been bought in this fashion. The same young Palestinian, al-Asmar, speaks of this kind of pressure:

(6) *Israel Imperial News*, October 1968. The original Proclamation was submitted as an advertisement to the Israeli newspapers and was rejected.

(7) *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 June 1968.

(8) *Israc*, May 1969. See also Salzer.

"When an Arab who has succeeded in getting a position in some public organisation—after deciding to refrain from expressing any political opinion—is invited to some official function, for instance to an Israeli Independence Day reception, he will have to listen to speeches describing the wonderful position of the Arab community in Israel. And the Arab, who has paid for his job by silence, will now have pressure put on him to break it. They will force him to join in the eulogies; if he doesn't appear at the function they will ask why he did not come, and he even risks being thrown out of his job if he hasn't a suitable alibi. But if he does appear, there will be an article in all the papers the next day reporting the presence of many Arab notables who were in agreement with the speech. And they still talk about democracy here. Yes, my Jewish friend, I can say whatever I like. Then they will do—whatever they like."⁹

And what they do to those who refuse to hold their tongues looks quite lenient and is calculated meticulously so that it does not cross the press reporting barrier. Imprisonment and trials are kept to a minimum, but forced residence, denial of work and travel permits, (Arabs in Israel have to get such permits to visit most towns and villages) and discriminatory treatment ensure that the stubborn will sooner or later leave the country. The Hebrew press gives only scanty news on the subject, but *al-Ittihad* is usually full of the daily stories affecting the livelihood and liberty of the Arab intellectuals and anti-Zionists.

What disturbs the Zionists more than everything else is when their control over world opinion is undermined and threatened. Here, they stop short of nothing, ethical or unethical, to twist the pointing finger out of existence. When pressure and reward fail, the terrorist takes over the task. Most of the champions of the Arab cause have spent anxious nights after threatening messages, some of which are on police record. Following the publication of *The Road to Beer-*

(9) *Israc*, May 1969. See also Salzer.

sheba,¹ Ethel Mannin received, among other things, a letter from "men of the Border Police" of Israel telling her that if she ever set foot in "their" country, they would be personally responsible for her death. Miss Mannin wanted to take up the question of this particular letter with the Israeli Embassy in London, but on further consultation she found that silence was a safer resort.¹⁰ During his lecture tour to the United States, the hosts of General Sir John Glubb received telephone messages threatening revenge "by putting them out of business." Of course, there was more noise than deeds but few writers like to give worries to their families or their kind hosts. The debt of the Palestinians to all the honourable men who have championed their cause must remain very heavy in deed.

Attacks on pro-Arab rallies and meetings are by no means rare. A Pakistani speaker was beaten up, together with a number of Iraqi students among his audience, at Speakers' Corner in London, after the June war. All the newspapers thought the incident unworthy of reporting. The students' meeting at Conway Hall was broken up by a similar attack. The Metropolitan Police had, in fact, advised the Arab students, during the same period, against holding any demonstrations or meetings, and the students were forced to call off their planned march. Months later, when the Arabs ventured to stage their demonstration with a heavy police escort, hooligans charged at the marchers shouting the slogan "Kill all the Arabs." The Palestine week mass rally at Trafalgar Square went on with a group of Zionists dancing the Hora in front of the speakers' platform, with the words, "We won the war" ("We" being the British Jews). Britain, of course, is the least suitable stage for terror and can only serve as a pointer to the shape of things in a city like New York. Arab-Zionist students' clashes have become a feature of the academic life of many universities. In all the incidents and troubles that have been reported, it was a case of the Zionists reacting and objecting to an initiative on behalf of Palestine, be it a question of an exhibit,

(10) The writer is indebted to Miss Mannin for communicating to him the above private information.

an article or a lecture. The Arab Students' Committee of Reading University was prohibited from giving any lecture on Palestine .

The anti-Zionist voice may be detected in the absolute silenced with which Mr. Jarring carried out his long U.N. mission. His predecessor and countryman, Count Bernadotte, was less reticent and his critical statements displeased Israel far more than his plan, which was already dead at any rate when his car was intercepted in Jerusalem and the assassin's bullet finally silenced him. His death was only one more link in a long chain of murders and terror extending back to the thirties.

Terrorism of a less violent nature takes the form of psychological warfare in which those delicately placed people are assailed as exhibitionists, cranks, psychopaths, renegades (if Jews), Arab-lovers (said in the same tone as nigger-lovers), and so on to the rest of the insinuations. The private life of the Israeli anti-Zionists, like Simon Tzabar is dissected in public and misrepresented on the pages of the Tel Aviv press. The accusation of anti-Semitism tops the list of the moral blackmailer, a subject which deserves a chapter on its own.

THE ANTI-SEMITISM BLACKMAIL

Israel was established after the savage bestiality meted out to the European Jews in a holocaust which stunned all men of good will. So great was the evil that its guilt seeped through to the soul of every civilised individual who inherited the heritage of the western world. Men of letters and thought became apprehensive of anything that might hurt the feelings of the victims. The Zionists, ever ready to exploit any opportunity, used this apprehension in the service of their own machinations. Anti-Semitism was reckoned by both Jew and gentile, Zionist and anti-Zionist as the best ally of Jewish nationalism. None of the Zionist leaders disputed this fact, although some of them paid lip service and condemned it. In fact, Theodor Herzl recommended the anti-Semites as prospective agents who would look after the interests and properties of the Jews following their departure to Palestine. "The anti-Semites will become our most dependable friends, the anti-Semitic countries our allies," he wrote to Count de Hirsch.¹

Yet the Zionists have used anti-Semitism so effectively that the cry of anti-Semitism has become the ghost which haunts the mind of any judicious politician or writer who has dared to raise his voice or to doubt the words of the Jewish Agency. It is for this purpose that the WZO keeps the memories of the Nazi concentration camps aflame. Matzpen, the Israeli Socialist Organisation, observed:

"The relation between Zionism and anti-Semitism is surrounded by an emotional smoke-screen which deters many people, including Jews, from voicing their apprehensions concerning Zionism. This

(1) Herzl, *Diaries*, Vol. I, p. 84.

reluctance is well known to the Zionist public relations men who draw and harp on it incessantly. Often this harping becomes indistinguishable from emotional blackmail."²

This is why Eichman was hunted and his trial dragged on to the point of dreariness. This is also the justification for the excessive sums of money spent on tracking down the Nazi war criminals. Exhibitions of relics, letters, pictures and films of the concentration camps and gas ovens continue to tour the world to the revulsion of the younger generation of Jews.

There is no simpler way to win the sympathy of the public than to place any sign of opposition within the picture of this revolting anti-Semitism. True to the fashion of the commercial advertiser, the term has become a trade mark which is worth a lot and which should never be changed. Although the question may be simply one of anti-Israelism, anti-Zionism, anti-Judaism or anti-religion, it should be still called anti-Semitism in every case. The Arabs who are certainly nearer to being Semites than the American Jews, are accused by the Zionists of anti-Semitism. Edward Attiyah and other Arab publicists drew attention to the contradiction, an effort which is meaningless as the term denotes no more than the trade name of Coca-Cola or Nescafe. In fact, many anti-Zionist Jews who have defended the Arab case have been accused of anti-Semitism.

The Zionist publicity officer achieved a formula by which he made anti-Semitism, anti-Judaism and anti-Zionism one and the same thing. The result was simply breathtaking. In an atheistic state like the Soviet Union, religion is a customary target for Marxist ideologists, and the Orthodox Christian Church has been mercilessly subjected to attacks from countless impetuous young writers. Yet, Kychko's "*Judaism Unmasked*," which was published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was confiscated from the market by the authorities as soon as the formula of equating anti-religion with anti-

(2) *The Other Israel*, Matzpen, Tel Aviv, July 1968.

Semitism was successfully applied. On the other hand, members of the American Council of Judaism, whose concern was basically over Jewish religious values, were accused of being anti-Semites³ because of their criticism of Zionism and Israel.

The very obvious pragmatic use of anti-Semitism in blackmailing journalists and public figures can be shown by remembering that people who confessed to be anti-Semitic like R. Crossman, and others who revealed their anti-Semitism in various instances such as A.J. Balfour, Lloyd George and Sir Mark Sykes, received nothing but the highest praise from the Zionists, simply because they supported the Jewish National Home. Even the notorious butcher of the Jewish masses and instigator of the Kishinev Pogrom, the Tzarist Minister of Interior, Count Plehve, had the kindest words from Herzl—"un bien grand homme."⁴ Count Plehve happened to write a letter to the Zionist Congress promising his help to the Zionist effort. On the other side of the scale, those who have never shown any trace of an anti-Semitic disposition, like the Labour leader, Mr. George Brown, have been accused of anti-Semitism as soon as they put a spoke in the Israeli wheel. Poland, which is more liberal than Rumania, was the target of the anti-Semitic charge. Far from being criticised at all, the policies of the Rumanian Government received refreshing words from the Zionist press. Rumania was the only socialist state which stood by Israel after the Six-Day War.

A brief study of a few victims of the Zionist outcry of anti-Semitism may throw some light on the obvious purpose of the procedure. The long list of such victims includes James Forrestal, Ernest Bevin, Count Bernadotte, General de Gaulle, George Brown, Christopher Mahyew and most of the leaders of the East European states (Rumania excluded).

James Forrestal, U.S. Secretary for Defence, was a man closely connected with the oil and imperialist interests of the United States.

(3) *New York Times*, 16 July 1967.

(4) Herzl, *Diaries*, Vol. IV, p. 1525.

His views were also influenced by the Navy and the general staff who looked at the Arab World as a vital link which should not be lost. His position was simply that of any Secretary of Defence who has to resolve any problem in accordance with the interests and opinions of his country and not the aims or opinions of an exterior force or a minority pressure group. He accordingly endeavoured to "lift the Palestine question out of American partisan life."⁵ This brought him into clash with the Zionist strategy of insuring support to the Jewish State by making it an election issue. He automatically became an open target for the charge of anti-Semitism. The Zionists seem to have been determined to make an example of him, and one of the most notorious campaigns of character assassination was launched against him. Two photographers employed by the Zionist Organisation, as revealed by the police after their arrest, shadowed him whenever he went out. His personal life was dragged into the smear campaign, accelerating his psychological break up.⁶

U.S. Ambassador, James G. McDonald, one of the devoted Zionist gentiles, knew him personally and visited him during his ordeal. McDonald's remarks on him ran like this:

"He was in no sense anti-Semitic or anti-Israeli . . . I am confident that he was then convinced that partition was not in the best interests of the United States. He certainly did not deserve the persistent and venomous attacks which helped to break his mind and body; on the contrary, these attacks stand out as among the ugliest examples of the willingness of politicians and publicists to use the vilest means in the name of patriotism—to destroy self-sacrificing and devoted public servants."⁷

Nevertheless, "He had been," according to his biographer, "marked as the victim of one of the biggest headhunts in the history

(5) *The Forrestal Diaries*, London, 1952, p. 327.

(6) Rogow, A.A., *Victim of Duty*, London, 1966, p. 162.

(7) McDonald, *My Mission to Israel*, p. 12.

of Washington politics.”⁸ He was forced to resign and finally disintegrate and take his own life.

Another of their victims was Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary in the Attlee Government. Like Mr. Forrestal, he was driven to an anti-Zionist position not by any personal hostility to Jews or Judaism, but by the imperial interests of his country. His biographer⁹ explains that Bevin looked at the Middle East as an area inhabited by the Arabs, upon whom a Jewish state could not be imposed. Britain’s interests rested more in the millions of Arabs controlling the vital region with all its oil resources, than with a small Jewish community on a few thousand square miles. He, too, incurred the punishment of the charge of anti-Semitism as a result of this position, notwithstanding his long record in the Labour Party and the British Trade Union movement, as a friend of the Jewish community and former supporter of the same Zionist aspirations.

Even more absurd is the same charge against George Brown, who is married to a Jewish wife and who is on best terms with his numerous Israeli and Jewish friends. He caused a problem by insisting on an Egyptian diplomat shaking hands with an Israeli diplomat and friend of his, when both were his guests. The colourful ex-Foreign Secretary must have learnt the lesson of his Labourite predecessors and refrained from saying anything critical of Israel, Zionism or the Jewish community. His only sin was his assertion, during the difficult months in which Britain needed all the good will of the large Arab markets and oil resources, that the Arabs had a case which deserved a hearing. But this was enough for the Zionists to accuse him of treading in the anti-Semitic footsteps of Ernest Bevin. His fear and prudence over the issue deprived the Zionists of the helpful, unguarded statements which they could exploit against him. The press, however, found another weak point against him—his honest indiscretions and drinking habits. George

(8) Rogow, p. 276.

(9) Francis, W., *Ernest Bevin*, London, 1952.

Brown became a fixed figure for ridicule and scandal. He was unfit for his office. Mr. Emanuel Shinwell advised that he would be better off in some job in industry.

General de Gaulle is the latest victim. The *Jewish Chronicle* described his relationship with the Jews as a "love story," as "one of the utmost correctness, even of warm sympathy and understanding." Throughout his life, the General helped the Jews and the Jews rallied to his banner. He became the target of the anti-Semitic smear after his support to the Arabs following the Six-Day War. His speech of November 1967 in which he referred to the "domineering elite" is usually quoted in evidence. Yet, any student of French politics can see that the General was incurring the wrath of the Zionist much earlier than the cited speech. The same *Jewish Chronicle* article, in fact, says that the disenchantment of the Jews with de Gaulle goes back to the days when he granted independence to Algeria.¹⁰ Interesting to note also that the outcry against De Gaulle was not heard immediately after his press conference of the 27 November 1967 when he attacked the arrogance of Israel and the domination of the Israelites, but rather after the report that he was going to supply arms to the Arabs and maintain his embargo on the shipment of arms to Israel. It was then, on 12 December, that Senator Javits lamented De Gaulle's attack "on people of the Jewish faith in general" and called on the U.S. Government to supply Israel with the Phantoms in reply.

The Zionists dug up Count Bernadotte's past to prove his anti-Semitism and declared to the world that he was cooperating with the Nazis during the war on the final solution. Further independent enquiries revealed that, in fact, the Swedish aristocrat was working for the Red Cross during the war, and his work involved him with Germany in an effort to save, rather than liquidate, varying numbers of Jews. The general public, however, are not given to historical

(10) *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 May 1969.

details, an unfortunate fact which enabled the journalists to ridicule men who have no racial prejudice.

The charge against the leadership of the socialist countries is another piece of pragmatism aimed at forcing their governments to grant the Jews (a dead loss for the Zionist cause now) what they have not granted the rest of their peoples, i.e. the right to emigrate and travel abroad at will. No communist can afford to be an anti-Semite with the bulk of his classic works written by Jews and a substantial number of his party workers coming from Jewish origin. In Poland, about a quarter of the Communist Party were Jews before the war, a fact which led a member of the Central Committee, Andrzej Werblan, to attribute the deviations which occurred after the war to the preponderance of the representatives of a minority in the Party. His article was condemned by Gomulka and the rest of the Central Committee.¹¹ Yet, it was the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party which received the worst from the Zionist smear campaign. Werblan's article was quoted every time; Gomulka's condemnation of it was omitted every time. The fact is that Wladislaw Gomulka, himself married to a woman of Jewish origin, was the one leader in the People's democracies who made a devastating attack against Israel and its expansionist ambitions soon after the Six-Day War.

Authors and journalists have been accused of anti-Semitism by the dozen, for no genuine reason other than putting forward the Arab case. Professor Miller Burrow's book, "*Palestine is our Business*" was labelled as anti-Semitic although its author was himself a Vice-President of the National Committee to combat anti-Semitism. Professor Toynbee, Sir John Glubb, Erskine Childers, Ethel Mannin and Michael Adams have all been accused of anti-Semitism.

Extensive research carried out under different headings in the United States and Britain on anti-Semitism has contributed to the

(11) *Morning Star*, 8 May 1959.

efficiency of the anti-Semitism blackmail mechanism. It has reached such perfection and elaboration that there is practically no escape from its tentacles. George Kirk pointed out that the grasping of a detail or minor incident and then blowing it up into a full scale universal affair is the key to the Zionist propaganda technique.¹² It is, in essence, the basic successful advertising gimmick in which a broken trousers zip, filling the whole television screen, speaks for excellent pork pie, a film more erotic than "*Silence*," or simply for Hong Kong made buttons—according to the caption. The public are never bothered with the actual position of Gomulka, de Gaulle or Bevin. In fact, it is important that the Zionist publicist does not tell the public at all what it is all about. It sufficed to repeat that Bevin was speaking of the Arab rights because he was an anti-Semite, and that he was definitely anti-Semitic because he said that the Jews "should not jump the queue."

In the age of computers, figures and symbols are all that matter for a world which, thus, ends up with a colossal gap by starting with a minute numerical error. Over the decades of the Jewish question, a wide vocabulary of symbols and terms has emerged. The Zionists exploit this harvest by juggling with the symbols until the colossal gap in information is achieved, thanks to the ordinary writer or speaker who is not mindful of this computer system or its symbols. Thus was de Gaulle accused of anti-Semitism as soon as he used such terms as arrogance and domineering. "Arrogance" happened to be part of the title of a notorious German anti-Semitic society called the Society for combating Jewish Arrogance, whilst "domineering," is a derivative of "domination," a key word in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The use of such evocative symbols is abundant in the Zionist propaganda attacks. British opposition to the Jewish Agency's illegal activities after World War II was described by Ben Gurion, not as

(12) Kirk, G., *Survey of International Affairs*, the Middle East 1945-50, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1952, p. 203.

imperialism or oppression but as "racial discrimination."¹³ A similar abuse of terms is the resolution passed by a mass meeting in Israel in 1956 protesting against the demand of the world and the U.N. that Israel should refrain from the annexation of Gaza. The resolution said, "The citizens of Israel . . . strongly protest against the attempts being made in the Assembly and other U.N. institutions to strike at Israel's security and equality of rights by an act of discrimination which constitutes a violation of the charter."¹⁴ The stilted insertion of "an act of discrimination" in this passage is a definite attempt at intimidation.

A similar situation reoccurred in 1968, when the United Nations opposed the military parade in Arab Jerusalem. There was nothing new in the position for the U.N. stood in opposition to all Israeli military parades in Jerusalem as they violated the U.N. decision on the internationalisation and demilitarisation of the Holy City. The 1968 parade made in the Old City and the occupied Arab part drew protests not only from the best friends of Israel but from important sections of the Israeli people themselves. However, Mr. Tekoah, the Israeli delegate to the United Nations, branded Jordan's submission of the issue to the Security Council with the spirit of the Damascus blood outrage, "Now they had chosen Jerusalem as the object of their blood libel."¹⁵

Le Monde, which has become the latest target for attack, was described by Mr. Abba Eban as "the most horrible literature of incitement,"¹⁶ incitement being the word normally used in dealing

(13) *Zionist Review*, 11 April 1947.

(14) Citation in Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli*, p. 249.

(15) *U.N. Monthly Chronicle*, June 1968. The Medieval blood libel in which the Jews were accused of killing Christian children and drinking their blood is a European invention unknown in Islam. With the imperialist penetration of France in Syria, Damascus was stirred in 1840 by the story of a blood libel inspired by the French missionaries. Leaders of the Jewish community were arrested and the Jews were mobbed in the streets. The matter was raised in Cairo and Muhammad Ali ordered the release of the Jews forthwith reminding his governor that such charges were foreign to the Islamic World.

(16) *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 June 1968.

with racial and anti-Semitic holocausts, and incorporated in the British Race Relations Act.

The tacticians of Zionist propaganda have evolved a situation in which you are guilty whatever the answer to the charge may be. If you keep quiet and give no answer you are obviously guilty. If you reply you become even more guilty because you will be attacking Jews. It is a grand "*Catch 22*" brought from the realms of literature to life. The Zionists needle their victim and provoke him into saying more—and the more he says, the more they point out to the public, "Didn't we tell you?" Their best victims are usually found among the honest, the sensitive, the sincere, the plain-spoken, the innocent, the have-nothing-to-fear people. All the victims already mentioned are known for such qualities.

It is generally accepted that the unwillingness to admit to the U.S.A. the Jewish Displaced Persons was an essential factor in America's pro-Zionist policies after the war. Yet Bevin's blunt comment, "They don't want too many Jews in New York" was thrown at him over and over again as a definite sign of anti-Semitism. It is also admitted that the bitter hostility to Zionism was only revealed by Forrestal and Bevin in their later days after persistent provocation and humiliation.

Writers, politicians and journalists found that the best thing for them to do was to avoid any polemics with the Zionists and swallow their pride in peace if they were ever attacked. The *Opinion News* reported in 1947 that 30 per cent of American editors supported the partition of Palestine and 50 per cent opposed it. It was also found that 57 per cent of the newspapers refrained, during the same period, from making any editorial comment on the Palestine question.¹⁷ The result was the overwhelmingly pro-Zionist picture.

One man, however, decided to follow a different course and, by doing so, prove how easily the Zionists can be defeated once they

(17) Lilienthal, *What Price Israel*, p. 126.

are handled with intelligence, firmness and courage. Christopher Mayhew, M.P. ventured to defend the Arab case in the television programme, "Your Witness" on 15th June 1968. Reginald Freeson, M.P. protested to the Labour Chief Whip against Mayhew's views and called on the party to dissociate itself from them. Maurice Edelman, M.P. hastened to ascribe the charge of anti-Semitism to Mr. Mayhew in an article carried by the *Jewish Chronicle*. The moral blackmail and conscious fabrication of the charge are shown by the fact that Mr. Edelman was quite aware that his Labour colleague had a long record of activities on behalf of the Jews in Britain and abroad.¹⁸ A more timid politician would have followed the beaten track and avoided further trouble, but Mr. Mayhew took the *Jewish Chronicle* and Mr. Edelman to court in a libel action and forced them to apologise publicly.

Although these accusations are made with the true object in full view, they are not without any emotional impact to the average Jewish reader. The persecution mania, inflicted on the majority of Jews over the centuries, finds its expression in ultra-sensitivity to any comment or gesture. Ben Azai's attack on the *Guardian* drew a letter from a reader reminding him that it was not just the *Guardian* but the entire British press which was anti-Semitic and "know not Joseph."¹⁹ George Brown was also a mere figure head. The entire foreign office was anti-Semitic and deserved a complete book on this score.²⁰

In dealing with the attitude of the British press, Mr. A. Sharf criticised the *World Review* for publishing a discussion on the Mandate of Palestine without referring to the Jewish war effort, although the declared purpose of the discussion was "to put the Arab case" in "a small effort to redress the balance." There were scores of Arab exhibitions held in London without even a mention by any paper. Yet the same author took exception that an exhibition on Jewish

(18) *Times*, 22 January 1969.

(19) *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 September 1967.

(20) *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 July 1967.

Palestine in the war was "certainly not ignored by the press. But some provincial newspapers of standing contented themselves with printing what was obviously no more than a condensed version of the exhibition's press release." Such treatment, according to him, cannot be given a simple "anti-Zionist explanation," i.e. it must be due to anti-Semitism.²¹

Readers' letters to the Jewish press everywhere are excellent samples of this mind. It is as good to tell them that no harm was intended in the New Oxford Dictionary definition of "Jew" as it is to tell a psychotic patient that she hasn't got a horse in her belly. In the analysis of the present work, it appears that not only does the patient believe that she has a horse in her belly, but also that everyone in the hospital also believes that this is actually so.

The fear of the anti-Semitism smear is a part of the post-war political climate which has tended to placate the minorities and eliminate all forms of discrimination. The fear of anti-Semitism is as real to a public figure as the fear of colour prejudice, and the reaction, in both cases, seems to be an over-reaction to the long centuries of racial and religious discrimination. It is for this reason that we find West Germany as one of the countries most sensitive to any anti-Israeli or anti-Zionist literature. Blanvalet of West Berlin published Ethel Mannin's Far East novels and Catholic novels, but none of her works on the Middle East. The publisher gave her a contract for her successful *Road to Beersheba*, which would have sold "like hot cakes," but soon retracted from it because of the fear of being accused of anti-Semitism.²² Outside the ranks of the New Left, which have no fear of the charge—the more inclined to anti-Semitism, the more apprehensive you become of the charge—the Arabs have been even less able to find a voice among the German speaking peoples.

(21) Sharf, A., *The British Press and the Jews under Nazi Rule*. Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 126, 127.

(22) Mannin to the writer.

That the Zionists should exploit this advantage is something natural, but the extent to which they have gone has proved to be beyond all expectations or wisdom. Protests were even lodged against the issue of special Christmas stamps in the United States and the erection of a Christmas tree in the hall of the New York Post Office. The adventurous Jewish nationalists are not worried about the possible anti-Semitic reaction. If they succeed in cowing editors and politicians it will be a feather in their cap; if they fail and draw an anti-Semitic outburst they will prove their case, i.e. that anti-Semitism is a law of nature and that the Jews have no place outside Israel. This is the other "*Catch 22*."

THE EYEWITNESS

With press and radio sufficiently gagged by economic or emotional pressure and by actual penetration or possession, the one remaining danger threatening the Israeli case with exposure lies in those foreign intruders who come into direct and official contact with the problem. During the Mandate, it was well recognised that most of those officials who went to Palestine with Zionist sympathies moved gradually to the side of the Arabs. Even such Zionist Jews as Herbert Samuel, Albert Haymson and Norman Bentwich changed their position after a few years, clashed with the Zionist Organisation and preached bi-nationalism. Chaim Weizmann complained in his diaries of such British officials who went to Palestine favouring the Zionist cause and turned against it soon after their arrival.¹ Israel Cohen mentioned in his "*Zionist Movement*" that these officials used to reveal their hostility to Zionism *after* their return to England.² Sir Arnold Storrs, the scourge of the Jewish Agency as the Zionists considered him, admits in his memoirs that he went to Palestine fully sympathetic to the Zionist cause.³

Many interesting interpretations were advanced for this phenomenon. Some ascribed it to the offensive East European mannerism of the Jews; others to the attractiveness of Arab clothes, the servility of the fellah, the embroidery of his women, the tastiness of hommus . . . etc. Very few considered the obvious interpretation that the British official had no chance of hearing the Arab case until he came into contact with it on the field of actual facts. It was this

(1) Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, p. 468.

(2) Cohen, I., *The Zionist Movement*, London, 1949, p. 136.

(3) Storrs, R., *Orientalism*, London, 1937.

"man on the spot" on whom the Revisionist leader, V. Jabotinsky, vented his wrath during the hearing of the Peel Commission. He advised the Royal Commissioners to listen to the diplomats of the League of Nations, nicely tucked away in Geneva, and not to the abominable anti-Semitic British officials and judges sitting on the spot in Palestine.

The Royal Commissioners, in their turn, explicitly admitted that the Arab case suffered whenever it was shifted from Jerusalem to London.⁴ What the Commissioners had failed to recognise was that the case suffered as well in London whenever it was left in the hands of people who were not officially responsible for administering the country and consequently keeping themselves directly informed. It was thus that the Arab case fared better at the hands of the Government, whilst the Zionist Organisation managed to arouse the loudest sneer and cheer from the opposition. The Labour Party, which had annually passed resolutions upholding the Zionist programme, angered the Jewish Agency when Labour was in office in 1930. Mr. Churchill opposed the 1939 White Paper when out of office and then upheld it when he was Prime Minister. The Labour Party Executive passed a resolution in 1944 recommending, "Let the Arabs move out as the Jews move in," and then became diametrically opposed, when in office, to letting in any more Jews than already provided for in the White Paper.

The Mandatory pulled out, but the vacuum between Arab and Israeli is now filled by the United Nations which has provided large teams of witnesses on Israel's deeds in the form of UNRWA officials and staff, MAC officers, U.N. Truce Observers and U.N. Emergency Forces. These have been the potential enemies of Israel's department of information. Although the U.N. field reports are smothered in the usual manner in the western press, the documentation which they provide is by no means negligible. Many of the successive United

(4) Cmd. 5479, p. 92.

Nations representatives like Count Folke Bernadotte, General E.L.M. Burns, General Carl Von Horn, Commander E.H. Hutchison and Professor John H. Davis have all published memoirs and works connected with their duties in Palestine, books which have damned the Zionist leadership of Israel beyond redemption.⁵

The U.N. man on the spot became the target for the ridicule, abuse and insinuation of the Tel Aviv press. Simultaneously, the Intelligence apparatus set its agents and tools to corrupt them, intimidate them and blackmail them. General Von Horn relates his accounts of the immoral methods used in influencing his men and penetrating his offices. The careful accounts filed by the Israeli authorities on every new United Nations Observer include whether he preferred brown girls or white girls. The Israeli sector of Jerusalem became a den of corruption and seduction by "a country which had espionage in its bones, and which understood the twin elements of corruption and blackmail to a degree which was probably the envy of any country in the world."⁶ Major R. Hanson tried to combat the hold which Tel Aviv had won over some of the United Nations Representative. Israeli Intelligence arranged a different kind of treatment for him—a "car accident" from which he never completely recovered.

In the last twenty years, the Tel Aviv authorities have continued their process of expelling the Arabs, particularly the Bedouins of the Negev. Their tents and herds have been attacked by aeroplanes whilst the Israeli soldiers have shot at the Bedouins at the main wells.⁷ The neutral zones along the Egyptian and Syrian borders has been seized and their inhabitants have been expelled. Over four million dunums of Arab lands have also been taken inside Israel

(5) Count Folke Bernadotte, *To Jerusalem*, London, 1956. Burns, E.L.M. *Between Arab and Israelis*, London, 1962; Horn, Carl Von, *Soldiering for Peace*, London, 1966; Hutchison, E.H., *Violent Truce*, New York, 1956.

(6) Horn, p. 99.

(7) Report of the Chief of Staff of T.S.O. to the Security Council, 27 October 1953.

itself. All these are matters which concern the U.N. authorities and which are rarely known to the outside world. The banishment of the U.N. man became, therefore, another essential piece in the Zionist information steamroller.

The following are some of the episodes illustrating Israel's allergy to the presence of an independent international authority.

1. 1948: Israel opposed the internationalisation of Jerusalem under a United Nations governor.

2. 1951: It rejected the U.N. proposal to put an observation boat under the United Nations flag in Lake Tiberias.

3. 1955: It rejected Anthony Eden's proposal to lessen tension by increasing the number of U.N. observers.

4. 1956: It opposed General Burns' suggestion to form joint Egyptian-Israeli patrols under U.N. observation.

5. 1957: It resisted the attempt to get the U.N. Emergency Force on its side of the border.

6. 1958: Dag Hammarskjöld proposed an increase in the U.N. Force, promptly rejected by Israel.

7. May 1967: It was suggested to Israel to put the U.N. Force on its side after their evacuation from the Egyptian side. Israel went to war instead.

8. 1967: After the Six-Day War, Israel refused to have the U.N. Force on her side of the Suez Canal.

9. March 1968: Proposal to station U.N. observers along the River Jordan was rejected.*

(8) The *Times* correspondent reported that the U.N. presence was felt in Israel as a "nuisance." (*Times*, 1 April 1968).

10. Israel is opposed to a peace settlement providing for withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Occupied Territories and their replacement by U.N. peace contingents.

Tel Aviv pursues the principle of *first out, last in* whenever it has had to deal with the U.N. observers. They are the first people to be expelled wherever the Israeli Army moves. Major Le Grelle, the U.N. Observer in al-Auja, the main point for the thrust towards Sinai, was forcibly expelled on 29th October 1956, only a few hours before the attack on Egypt. As soon as the troops moved into Gaza, they pushed on to the MAC radio station, broke down the door and took away the transmitter.⁹ A year before that, U.N. observers were actually imprisoned in their rooms at al-Auja whilst the Israeli forces massacred some fifty Egyptians.¹⁰ The same pattern of expelling the United Nations representatives was followed after 5 June, 1967. Conversely, the U.N. observer was usually the last man to be invited by Tel Aviv, after the Intelligence, the army, the journalists, the foreign tourists and even the school children, whenever a border incident took place.¹¹

The U.N. Mediator, Count Bernadotte, seems to have been convinced that speaking up over this question was in itself basic to solving it, a conviction for which he became the first martyr to die in the service of international authority. A short while before his death he left this legacy:

"The Arabs had given us every possible help, particularly during the second truce. The Jews, on the other hand, constantly tried to put spokes in the wheel and did everything in their power to make our work more difficult. Before very long more than 300 officers would have arrived in Palestine from four different countries. I knew from my own experience that these officers, when they first arrived, would be very sympathetic towards the Jewish cause; but I also

(9) Burns, *op. cit.*

(10) Hutchison, p. 114.

(11) Horn, p. 256.

knew that they would soon find themselves compelled by force of circumstances to revise their attitude. It was only to be expected that when they returned to their own countries, they would speak their minds on these questions without beating about the bush."¹²

His appeal did not go amiss. The reports of the U.N. observers and representatives, supported by photographs, sketches and maps, provide sufficient ammunition for the Arab case, if only they could receive the well deserved publicity. Yet, even the concerned research student finds it so difficult to get hold of them. The Moroccan U.N. Delegate suggested, in 1966, the writing of a comprehensive report "based exclusively on facts" and giving a full statistical picture of the border situation between Israel and the Arab States. The Secretary General found that the task of compiling the thousands of complaints and investigation reports of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation and the hundreds of decisions made by the four Mixed Armistice Commissions would end up as a huge compilation running into thousands of pages, and quite beyond the available U.N. allowances.¹³ Thus the average reader and busy journalist remain as ever oblivious of the facts that matter.

(12) Bernadotte, Count Folkes, *To Jerusalem*, London, 1951.

(13) U.N. Document S/7283 of 6 May 1966.

CONCLUSION

The success of the Zionist information apparatus and the strong hold which the WZO has secured on the public opinion of the West reached its highest point during the 1967 crisis. The Israeli military command, the Pentagon and all the military experts of the western world had not the slightest doubt of the outcome of any armed conflict between the Arab and Israeli armies. This is a fact accepted by all historians of the Six-Day War. It is also conceded, by the Israelis as much as by foreign observers, that President Nasir had no intention of attacking Israel. Pictures of the deployment of his troops and the positioning of his tanks pointed to an unmissably defensive order. No offensive operational plan was found in the command quarters of the Arab armies after they fell into Israeli hands. The only one publicised by the Tel Aviv Department of Information was an Egyptian operational plan for the Air Force, envisaging air attacks on Israeli aerodromes and military targets, without any order to hit the civilian areas. The plan itself cannot be construed as a declaration of intent to attack Israel, for no large organised army can plan the defence of its country without providing for air attacks on the enemy military targets.

Yet, the world was worked up to a state of hysteria by the 5th June on the impending massacre awaiting the hapless few Israelis. Never in the history of man was a situation so perfectly reversed, with all its shades and contours intact, as that which engulfed the Arabs and Israelis in the two weeks before the June war. It is a sad reflection on our unjust world and on our attitude towards the men of letters and moulders of thought, that the June war should see so many soldiers and officers decorated, promoted and rewarded in Israel, but none of Israel's great information generals.

The war ended with scores of Arab villages razed to the ground, thousands of civilians and soldiers killed, hundreds of people maimed by napalm and nearly half a million Arabs made "new" refugees. The discovery of the true facts of the situation came like an electric therapeutic shock to the hundreds of western observers, intellectuals and journalists who were swept away with the mass hysteria. Jean-Paul Sartre, the judicious and discriminating political critic who had led a march to the Israeli Embassy in Paris in support of the beleaguered, defenceless few awaiting their slaughter in Tel Aviv, awoke from his nightmare with the cries of the bewailing Palestinian women. "Who ever thought that the war would end this way? Who ever thought that it was the Arabs who were in danger?" Sartre went on to explain that the entire French people had believed that the Arabs were going to start a war which would lead to a definite and speedy liquidation of Israel and the extermination of its Jews.¹

It was too late. The bluff had already paid its dividends in the form of about a hundred million pounds collected in aid of Israel, some eight thousand volunteers rushing to help its machine of war and an unreserved endorsement by the western world to its aggression. Jewish solidarity became complete, with the exception of a few groups here and there. Despite the revelation which came to many political thinkers like Jean-Paul Sartre, the myth that the Israelis had to fight and occupy Sinai, Jerusalem, the Western Bank and part of Syria in order to defend themselves from extermination persisted. The Arabs, of course, must take their own share of the blame for providing the Zionist publicist with a wealth of ammunition. Their bellicose verbiage, which is part of the decorative abstract colours of the Middle East, was understood literally by the western audiences and interpreted in different terms by the Zionists who simultaneously suppressed the more responsible statements, like Nasir's assurance to Anthony Nutting. The Arabs have learnt the lesson, or, at least, said so in many conferences and self-critical articles.

(1) Interview with Lutfi al-Khuli, *al-Abram*, 3 July 1967.

Notwithstanding Israel's spectacular propaganda triumph and its capture of the western mind and means of information, the Zionists do not seem to be quite satisfied with this enviable position. They make a hue and cry over any chink opened for the Arab case. The B.B.C. is used to being accused of bias, but its Editor of the Radio Times must have been surprised when he read in the *Jewish Chronicle* that the picture of an Arab refugee carried in connection with a programme on the subject, was a manifestation of the pro-Arab B.B.C. position. Ben Azai wrote on the subject a piece which must rank as a true journalistic version of those memorable Shakespearian passages which can be read in so many ways: "How is it that Jews who excel at so much else should be so bad at propaganda?... It arises mainly out of an arrogant confidence in the justice of our case. Now, of course, in the recent Arab-Israeli conflict justice has been overwhelmingly on the Israel side, and we have, therefore, felt that it can speak for itself. Justice like truth, will out, but it can take a very long time in coming out. In the short-term the truth must be re-iterated as frequently and proclaimed as loudly as a lie."²

In reading this passage one should put a charitable interpretation on it. Ben Azai is not being cynical, provocative or talking with his tongue in his cheek. He has his idola tribus, and has grown up with the idea that there are no Arab inhabitants in Palestine and no Arab case exists. A Palestinian speaker on television and a pro-Arab letter in the *Guardian* are cracks in his system of thought. The world to him is only right when no one hears of an Arab Palestine. More and more funds and personnel are added to the Zionist propaganda machinery to make this world as perfect as Ben Azai knows it to be. The toil and expenditure have only one objective, i.e. to dupe the millions living in Western Europe and North America.

We are told that all our suffering was due to that silly woman

(2) *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 August 1967.

who ate from the tree of knowledge. The legend goes on to tell us that it was the one tree which was not explained to her. The tragedy of the human race, therefore, seems to be more a tragedy of omission than of knowledge, a fact which glares at us at every crossroad in our history. A.J.P. Taylor still argues that the whole Second World War was a matter of misunderstanding and misinformation on the part of Germany. It is a more rewarding effort for any historian to establish what did not go on between the contending parties than what did.

To the average adult who cast his vote in a presidential or parliamentary election, Palestine was a distant land of little material value or consequence. The repeated warnings that the partition of the small country would set the whole Arab world, from the Atlantic to the Gulf, aflame were played down or smothered. He did not know how much he relied on the markets and oil of this area, or where and how this essential product flowed. The Suez Canal was, to him, a Franco-British property which happened to lie in Egypt—and completely unrelated to Palestine. The Palestinians, he was informed, were merely a million illiterate fellahin who would cry and kick for a day or two, but who would soon adjust themselves to the new situation. On the other hand, he saw the victims of the Nazi concentration camps and heard of some one hundred thousand displaced persons who—not the Palestinians—were knocking at his door for refuge. He was told that Palestine would relieve him of the spectre of the Jewish refugee and solve the Jewish question, once and for all.

Now we know how deceived he was, but he himself still does not know. He is still unaware of the blows dealt to the positions and interests of the West in the Arab world, as a result of the Palestinian partition. No one has submitted to him the costage bill related to the frequent Suez Canal closures, the interruption in the oil flow, the loss of markets, the maintenance of a million refugees, the 1956 Suez invasion, the closure of the Haifa refinery and pipeline, the

transfer of millions of pounds in foreign currency annually to Israel in Jewish contributions . . . , etc.

This was all done to rid himself of the responsibility for a hundred thousand displaced persons. Yet Israel has not saved him from the spectre of the Jewish refugee. Only a fraction of the Jews of Aden, Libya and Algeria emigrated to Israel, whilst the rest of them went to Britain, Italy and France. Consequently a mock trial was held in Israel and Algerian Jewry was condemned for treason. Only 10 percent of the Jewish refugees who left Czechoslovakia in 1968 went to Israel despite all the energy of the Zionist Organisation.³ Israel itself has, in fact, become a new source for Jewish refugees knocking at the doors of the western capitals, as there were more people leaving Israel than coming to it at one time, before the Six-Day War. The bulk of the population of Israel, the Oriental and West European Jews, would have had no reason to seek a new home or to intrude in anybody else's home, had it not been for the establishment of Israel and the agitation of the Jewish Agency.

The high bill which the average citizen in the West has paid, and is still paying, has not offered the best solution to the Jewish question. Only two million have opted for the Zionist solution, while ten million have opted for the integrationist solution. The partiality of the western public to the Zionist side stands as one of the rare acts of political self defeat which can only be interpreted by the ignorance and misinformation of the victim. Those western journalists and politicians who write and speak of the Arab case are not simply mad on the Arabs or seduced by their colourful clothes. They are concerned about the interests of their own countries, which they have found seriously damaged as a result of the unbalanced picture presented to the public. It may or may not be in the interests of Britain or America to take the side of Zionism, but it is certainly against their interests to keep themselves so misinformed on the subject.

(3) *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 September 1968.

A considerable amount of research has recently gone into such subjects as the influence of television programmes on the public, the relationship between cinema and violence, the treatment of crime and sex by the press, and similar subjects which underline the general anxiety over the irresponsible or self-interested manipulation of the good judgement of the public by such omnipotent means. Herbert Marcuse's "*One Dimensional Man*" is a forbidding portrait of the contemporary masses whose natural desire for liberation, justice and social progress is destroyed or changed into complacency or uncertainty by controlling and manipulating their consciousness.⁴ Various studies have been made on the phenomenon of shaping the policies affecting the majority by the efficient lobbying and publicity of an interested group or fraction. The Palestine question, as reflected in the western mirror, should be one of the most rewarding study cases in the functioning of western democracy. How is it, for example, that the information media of Britain is tilted so much towards the side of Israel when the blockage of the Suez Canal is costing Britain \$240,000,000 annually, not to mention the loss of Arab markets during one of the most serious financial crisis faced by the Bank of England? What happened to the line of trumpets which sounded like thunder when Nasir nationalised the Suez Canal Company, and then went completely mute when Dayan attacked the Suez Canal and severed the international waterway? Why can't the public hear a fraction of that chorus which went on over the one hundred thousand post war displaced persons, repeated on behalf of the one million Palestinian refugees? Why it is that a devastating World War was fought over the forceful annexation of a little German town by Germany, and won with sweat and blood to establish the principle that the world would no longer tolerate any territorial conquests by force, and yet we see all these intellectuals and writers turning the clock back and acquiescing in Israel's *fait accompli*?

The Palestine question offers a unique field for the student of western democracy inasmuch as it offers not only an insight into

(4) Marcuse, H., *The One Dimensional Man*, London, 1964.

the ways and means of shaping the One Dimensional Man, but also in doing so by the effective suppression of the discordant voice. The story and evidence of such a study, a meritorious case on its own regardless of the rights or wrongs of the issue, cover more than half a century and extend to many countries and communities. It is certainly beyond the free-lancing, part-time individual effort.

Correct information, or, at least, a balanced picture is also important for the Jewry of every country. A large proportion of the Zionists, probably the majority, are non-believers, and only a tiny minority of these are practising Jews. The well-being and healthy condition of Judaism are not their concern. According to the Jewish nationalist, the diaspora is only a transient stage and the Jew, sooner or later, and for one reason or another, will find his way to Palestine. As he can find no peace or normal life outside the Jewish state, it is useless to try and improve, or preserve the position of any diaspora community, except when it serves the purposes of Israel. What matters to the Zionist is his nationalist call, and the blindness and fervour of his call make him ready to sacrifice anybody in the service of his idol. Telling his fellow co-religionists what truths, half-truths and outright lies that may suit his purpose, is the least conscience-pricking operation undertaken by him. Indeed, nothing serves Israel better than the ill meted out to the diaspora Jew. It is this accepted fact which gave birth to the school of "Cruel Zionism." Its champions hallow the misfortunes which befell the Jews as blessings leading to solidarity and nationalism. They, accordingly, advocate active operations against their own people to bring the nationalist idea to their homes and force them to emigrate.

World Jewry supported the Zionist programme because they were told, inter alia, that Israel, once established, would be accepted by its neighbours and welcomed by the Palestinian inhabitants. Later on they were told that one decisive war with the Arabs would force them to recognise the Jewish state. Now they know that, in fact, it is the scorned expert of the Foreign Office and the State Department who were telling the truth to the Jews on the matter, and not

the publicity officers of the Zionist Organisation. The warning that the establishment of a Jewish State in the Holy Land was going to set the whole world of Islam, from Morocco to India, aflame was suppressed or ridiculed. The flames are already engulfing that world and the story of the armed conflict is by no means over. The Arabs say that it is only just starting, and the May 1969 report that Israel is in possession of five nuclear bombs and Nasir's reply is an ominous sign if ever there is one.

The question of the double loyalty which might arise out of the establishment of a Jewish state was similarly ridiculed or swept under the carpet. The non-Zionist Jews who raised the issue and gave the warning were hauled down. The old anti-Semitic call, "Jews, get out!" is now given a new lease and substance of life in the call of "Go to Israel" heard in Poland, France and New York. The identity of the Jew with allegiance to Israel is now taken for granted in the minds of most people. One of the most revealing and portentous episodes was reported in London recently. English Liberals have a long tradition of tolerance towards the Jews and have rarely accused of anti-Semitism. Jeremy Thorpe, the leader of the Liberal Party, planned to launch a Jewish educational foundation in memory of his Jewish Liberal predecessor, Lord Samuel. The educational and local nature of the foundation should have raised no question in anybody's mind. Notwithstanding, a faction in the Party considered the move an unwarranted partisanship with Israel, and organised themselves in a counter anti-Thorpe group.⁵ The Jews are now disqualified from most posts in the foreign services, armed services, oil interests and intelligence departments of all countries on account of the suspected allegiance to Israel. Here also, we are still at the beginning of the road.

The diaspora Jew *may* or *may not* find a satisfying pride in Israel, rejoice in the settlement of a number of Jews and war victims, consider Israel a fulfilment of the prophecies, or regard it as an in-

(5) *Daily Mail*, 9 May 1969.

insurance policy in case another Nazi Party comes to power and he finds nowhere to go. Yet, a careful and detached study of the insurance policy is the first priority of any business like citizen. It is in the interest of the Jew to restore balance to his view of the Palestine scene and examine the coin well—both sides of the coin. Far from suppressing the voice of the Arab and the non-Zionist he should give them all the opportunities they need. A verdict in absentia is the weakest verdict pronounced by a court.

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